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Visualizing the classics : reading surimono and kyōka books as social and cultural history

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VISUALIZING THE CLASSICS

Reading *surimono* and *kyōka* books as cultural and social history

Proefschrift

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Introduction

Surimono present multi-faceted material, on a crossroads between the fields of art history and literature. Furthermore, *surimono* reflect cultural and social facets of urban life in late Edo period Japan. Thus far, most *surimono* research was focused on the art historic qualities of the material, regularly also taking the interplay between poetry and image into account. The research presented here strives to put *surimono* in a greater perspective by including the literary antecedents of the content, the cultural background of the *kyōka* world and the social networks of poets. Its outcome will shed light on topics ranging from social history, print culture, art history, poetry, and the reception history of Japanese literature.

Fundamental to the aim of this research is to expose how *kyōka* provided spheres where people with a cultural interest could join in a literary pursuit that allowed them to fully incorporate their appreciation for and knowledge of the classics. Throughout this thesis, I will argue that *surimono* and *kyōka* books are deeply rooted in a poetic and/or literary tradition and aimed at an audience of amateur poets who enjoyed honing their wit and culture, creating a world of their own with self-imposed regulations. Despite the initial mocking stance towards the classics seen in early stages of the period of renewed *kyōka* popularity in Edo, I contend that *surimono*, well as other *kyōka* related materials, show a specific rediscovery and reception of a literary past, which coincides with a period of cultural self-identification in Edo society.

The term *surimono* applies to privately commissioned woodblock prints, produced in Japan's major cities during the second half of the Edo period. These prints often feature one or more poems, commonly of the 17-syllable *haikai* 俳諧 type, or the 31-syllable *kyōka* 狂歌 type, printed alongside an elegant illustration. *Surimono* featuring *kyōka* poetry are generally deluxe editions, which are valued for their artistic qualities by collectors of Japanese prints since the late nineteenth century.

Surimono display various aspects of socially, culturally and economically rich urban life. The majority of prints feature content that has many layers, both in word and image, containing frequent reference to cultural history and classical literature. Subjects of both poetry and image range from elegant representations of seasonal change, the veneration of actors and the city's beauties, to the treatment of historic subjects and literary classics from both China and Japan. Unlike in commercial print design, the still-life is quite common in *surimono*, presumable because it facilitates the inclusion of multiple allusions to themes treated in the poetry.

The term *surimono* itself surfaces in contemporary Japanese sources from as early as 1771.[1] McKee (2006) offers a very clear explanation of the term *surimono* and its contemporary use:

The term *surimono*, being comprised of two characters, "rub"/"print" and "thing(s)," is often

[1] Forrer (1979), p. 4-5. The book quoted is *Kyojitsu baka monogatari*, the title of which is idiosyncratically spelled 虚実馬鹿語, "*Stories of a fool, true and false*"; author unknown, published by Urokogataya Magobē 鱗形屋孫兵衛 of Edo in Meiwa 明和 8, 1771.

translated as "printed matter," but this translation is overly literal, for the construction of the word follows the same pattern as *kimono* ("worn matter"="clothing") and *makimono* ("rolled thing"="scroll"). The term […] came to specify a particular type of print, privately produced with individualized content, to be given as a gift on seasonal or personal occasions. Thus, although the word as it is constructed has a generic feel, it was not originally used to mean prints in general.[2]

The word *surimono*, indeed, has always known a very specific use, designating prints that were produced on the request of a private person or group, in relatively small quantities.[3] The word regularly surfaces in contemporary sources.[4] The term has been transmitted as such to Western art collectors who started noticing their refined designs and high-quality printing at the end of the nineteenth century, and is still in use today with the same connotation both in and outside Japan.

The general intention of *surimono* was to convey a sophisticated seasonal and poetic feeling, to be offered to acquaintances or exchanged with other poets. The large majority of *surimono* were commissioned for the occasion of New Year. Most of the remainder was issued to commemorate other seasonal events, celebrate the skills of a popular actor, announce a change in a certain poet's pen name, or honour the memory of a deceased poet. In all cases, *surimono* were not only issued by private persons or private circles, they were also distributed within a closed, private sphere.

Position of *surimono* within world of popular prints

The practice of commissioning a poetry print for private distribution among friends and acquaintances has had a long history in Japan. McKee asserts that the earliest *surimono* known to him was issued in 1702, and the latest in 1938.[5] The majority of *surimono* until the end of the eighteenth century were commissioned by *haikai* poets. These are now often called *haikai ichimaizuri* 俳諧一枚摺 ('single sheet *haikai* prints') or *haikai surimono* 俳諧摺物, to discern them from *kyōka surimono*. The latter were mainly produced during the comparatively short-lived fashion for this specific genre of poetry, which was revived by an avant-garde group of literati forerunners in the vibrant urban society of Edo (modern-day Tokyo) towards the end of the eighteenth century. The 31-syllable poems of the classical *waka*-form, though composed with considerable freedom in choice of words and imagery. Although the renewed popularity of the genre of *kyōka* had largely withered by the 1840s, it yielded the publication of numerous

[2] McKee (2006), p. 26, note 1.
[3] As opposed to ukiyoe 浮世絵, prints that depicted a variety of popular subjects and were produced by specialized publishers. Ukiyoe were printed and reprinted in large quantities and sold in shops or on the streets.
[4] Such as in an illustration by Ryūryūkyo Shinsai 柳々居辰斎 (1764? - c. 1825) in the *kyōka* book *Yomo no tawamureuta nazukushi* ('Listing of names and silly poems by [the] Yomo [group]', 1809), selected by one of the foremost *kyōka* judges, Yomo no Utagaki Magao 四方歌垣真顔 (1753-1829), in the collection of Waseda University, and in a *surimono* designed by Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 c. 1825, with a poem by the same Magao who mentions *surimono* ("摺もの") in his poem (illustrated for instance in Keyes (1985), p. 24, and in Meech, Oliver, and Carpenter (Eds., 2008), p. 24.
[5] McKee (2006), p. 35.

intricate prints.

The technically advanced Japanese printing industry provided the infrastructure for (*kyōka*) poets to privately commission not only prints, but also books. The long history of woodblock printing in Japan until the time of *kyōka* popularity culminated in these attractive materials of high technical achievement. In turn, the strong financial position of *kyōka* groups was also a major drive behind the developments of this advancement of printing techniques. *Kyōka* circles issued *surimono* and books through a system of subscription and could likely make quite an exact calculation to determine the total of combined finances of club members that were needed to issue a certain number of prints in a series of a certain size and material quality. Nonetheless, it has been shown that the technical advancements in *kyōka* books, in the early days of *kyōka* popularity in Edo, were also propelled by the undertakings of high-end commercial publishing houses in Edo, such as Kōshodō 耕書堂, run by Tsutaya Jūzaburō 蔦屋重三郎 (1750-1797).[6] Tsutaya actually composed *kyōka* himself, using the gō Tsuta no Karamaru 蔦唐丸.[7]

Definition of *kyōka* poetry and its place in Japanese poetic tradition

Kyōka poetry takes up a special position in the rich Japanese poetic tradition. In contrast to other genres such as *waka* and *haikai*, its popularity peaked sharply, but did not last for long. In the second half of the eighteenth century, *kyōka*, originally practiced on a modest scale in the Kamigata region, quite suddenly gained an immense popularity in Edo, first among a small group of well-educated samurai. The Edo period witnessed a flowering of new artistic traditions, such as in theater and printmaking. In literature, several new traditions in popular fiction as well as poetry arose. In that respect, the genre of *kyōka* was just one of many new vogues in Edo society. Although *kyōka* were originally not intended to be recorded, their popularity resulted in the publication of collections of contemporary *kyōka* from the early 1780s onwards. Later, the popularity of *kyōka* - meaning both the joy of reading *kyōka* and the social practice of *kyōka* composition - spread across the entire country.

The literal translation of the word *kyōka* results in designations such as 'mad verse' or 'crazy verse', yet - based on an evaluation of the genre's properties explained hereunder - I contend that 'unconventional *waka*' would be a more suitable translation. To this end, the meaning and etymology of the term *kyōka*, form and meter, and content will be discussed and compared to those of 'conventional *waka*'.

The word *kyōka* consists of the characters *kyō* 狂 and *uta* 歌. To start with the latter, *uta* ('poem, song', pronounced *ka* in the Sino-Japanese reading), is the same *ka* as in *waka*, *tanka* 短歌 (the 31-syllable

[6] Books published by Tsutaya Jūzaburō receive much attention in Chibbett (1977) and Hillier (1987). Also noted by Hillier, the publisher's name is often shortened to Tsutajū (combining the first character of the first and family name) by (Japanese) scholars and collectors. See also Davis in Meech, Oliver, and Carpenter (Eds., 2008). In 2010, Tsutaya was the subject of an exhibition at the Suntory Museum of Art, accompanied by a catalog with essays on his many commercial activities.

[7] The pronunciation of this name is a pun on the image of vine (*tsuta*, also part of Tsutaya's logo) entangling (as in the Japanese verb *karamaru* 絡まる).

'short poem'), etc., which points to the fact that these poems are written in Japanese and not Chinese or Sino-Japanese.[8] *Kyō* is commonly translated as 'crazy', 'mad' or 'lunatic'. The Japanese reading as a verb is *kuru-u*, 'go insane', 'go haywire', or, in the transitive form *kuru-wasu*, 'derange'. When used for persons, it is a serious description of their mental state, but the character does have a slightly less negative connotation of 'ecstatic', 'fanatic' or 'maniac' in other character combinations.

The word *kyōka* 狂歌 is used for a short poem, written in vernacular Japanese (as opposed to Chinese), using the classic *tanka* 短歌 meter of 31 syllables, arranged in five lines of 5-7-5-7-7. The *tanka* as poetic form is an archetype of classical poetry, *waka* 和歌. *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 ('*Anthology of ten thousand leaves*'), Japan's earliest poetry anthology (last dated poem c. 759), for instance, contains a multitude of *tanka*. From *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 ('*Collection of waka, old and new*', 905), the first of 21 poetry collections commissioned by the imperial court, onwards, the *tanka* becomes the predominant form of *waka*. The meter is continually employed to this day, and the words *waka* and *tanka* have become almost synonymous.

The structure of *kyōka* may resemble that of *waka*, yet the differing content and style of *kyōka* are important aspects that set them apart from *waka*. *Kyōka* are often defined as 'comic *waka*', because of their playful twists and unorthodox vocabulary. The Iwanami Shoten *Great dictionary of Japanese classical literature* (*Nihon koten bungaku daijiten* 日本古典文学大辞典), for instance, defines *kyōka* ("狂歌") as '*Waka* of a deviant style. Differing from classical *waka*, they are *tanka* that aim to infuse the framework and vocabulary with a particular sense of comedy and humor' ("狂体の和歌。古典和歌とちがい、構想、用語にことさら滑稽や諧謔を盛りこもうとする短歌").[9] Without doubt, many *kyōka* were composed with the intention of provoking a smile on the reader's or listener's face, or at least of causing them a feeling of joyful understanding at the instant that the gist of the clever puns and allusions is grasped. This is not to be confused with the idea of telling jokes in the form of poetry. Humor in *kyōka* can be subtle to the point of being nearly undetectable, and the nature of this type of poetry demands

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[8] The character *kyō* is combined with certain other characters to designate corresponding literary genres. The term *kyōshi* 狂詩 is used for Chinese style poems, *kanshi* 漢詩, where content and vocabulary are 'unconventional' or 'comic' in ways similar to *kyōka*. Although extant from the Kamakura period, these *kyōshi* experienced an upsurge in the middle of the Edo period. (Fujimura Tsukuru (Ed., 1967), p. 220.) Another example is *kyōbun* 狂文. Bun means 'text' in general, but the term *kyōbun* commonly applied to prefaces and epilogues to *kibyōshi* 黄表紙 ('yellowbacks', popular literature for adults) and *sharebon* 洒落本 ('smart books' - smart in both senses in this case; 'fashionable' as well as 'clever' - stories about the ways of townspeople, usually situated in the licensed quarters). (Fujimura Tsukuru (Ed., 1967), p. 230.) Later, *kyōbun* of a single author, often parodies on Chinese style prose, Japanese vernacular prose, or 'commoner's prose' were gathered for publication as a book. The emergence of *kyōbun*, too, coincided with the rising popularity of witty literature in general, and was practiced by writers of *gesaku* 戯作 (various forms of Edo period popular literature) and *kyōka* poets. (Fujimura Tsukuru (Ed.) (1967), p. 230.) *Kyōka*, *kyōshi*, and *kyōbun* and other comic genres are sometimes brought together in the term kyōku 狂句, in which *ku* stands for 'stanzas' or 'phrases' in general. Otherwise, the term may specify unconventional *hokku*.

[9] Nihon koten bungaku daijiten henshū iinkai (Ed., 1989), p. 176. These and other entries in connection to *kyōka* were written by *kyōka* and *senryū* 川柳 (17-syllable 'vulgar' poems) specialist Hamada Giichirō 濱田 義一郎 (1907-1986).

further precision. The Shinchōsha *Great dictionary of Japanese literature* (*Nihon bungaku daijiten* 日本文学大辞[辞]典) defines *kyōka* as '*Waka* of a deranged style, in other words meaning impure *waka*' ("狂體[体]の和歌、即ち純正ならざる和歌の義。").[10] Part of the entry is devoted to explaining the nature of *kyōka*: 'The form is identical to that of the *tanka*, but rather than poems of simple classic elegance, these poems are not bound to the limited subject matter of *tanka*, and, in terms of vocabulary, elegance and vulgarity[11] are used simultaneously.' ("形は短歌と同様であるが短歌の如く古雅眞率でなく取材も短歌の如く狭く拘束されず、用語も雅俗を併用する。") The explanation further states that poems convey comic wit by taking everyday things and daily life as themes. This wit often relies on snappy comebacks, and humor incorporating feelings of the heart is scarce. Further, poems resembling parodies are numerous, transforming high refinement into simple coarseness, and austerity into playfulness.[12] This echoes a statement by *kyōka* poet Moto no Mokuami 元木網 (1724-1811) that classy phrasing should be employed for vulgar topics and vice versa, since the appeal [of *kyōka*] lies in the unexpectedness of citing dirty words in the most elegant manner.[13] Indeed, *kyōka* frequently employ the same elegant wording found in *waka*, only to evoke a vulgar image of man's (or woman's) worldly experience by the implicit meaning of the verses. Contrarily, seemingly elegant poems can be interspersed with out-of-place words, from colloquial expressions to - occasionally - plain vulgar vocabulary.[14]

The form of *kyōka*, as we have seen, is by no means mad - rather the opposite - as the meter follows the most standard of Japanese poems. Content and vocabulary break with those of classic *waka*, but the language is not at all erratic. On the contrary, the choice of phrases is most careful, amounting to clever wordplay, allusions to classic *waka*, puns, rhyme (or at least repetitive sounds), and other poetic devices. In his monumental *Kinsei kyōka shi* 近世狂歌史 ('*History of kyōka of the pre-modern period*'), Suga Chikuho 菅竹浦 (n.d.) argues that *kyōka* composition discards the complex rules of classic *waka* and opposes the restraints of obligatorily creating the most refined verses.[15] One could argue that it is the penchant for defying the classic rules, the sense of iconoclasm towards that what was established through the ages as classic poetic splendor, which instigated the term *kyōka*.

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[10] Fujimura Tsukuru (Ed., 1967), p. 209.

[11] Elegance and vulgarity, Jap. *ga* 雅 and *zoku* 俗, are the customary translations of these two fixed and contrasting concepts in Japanese (literary) culture. Other connotations are refined, courtly, high-brow, upper-class for *ga*, and common, low, popular, middle-class for *zoku*.

[12] Fujimura Tsukuru (Ed., 1967), p. 209.

[13] Paraphrased from *Hama no kisago*, a manual for *kyōka* composition edited by Moto no Mokuami, published in 1783 (this manual will be described in detail in section 3.3.4). Transcription of full text in Edo kyōkabon senshū kankōkai (Ed., 2007) vol. 15, p. 7.

[14] The use of vulgar words and expressions is more common in *senryū* 川柳, 17-syllable poetry related to *haikai* that became popular around the same time as *kyōka*. *Senryū* are often called the 17-syllable counterpart of *kyōka* (for being related to *waka* in a similar way). Some people who composed *kyōka* have been known to compose *senryū* as well. Famous examples are Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760-1849) and Akera Kankō 朱楽漢江 (1738-1798). For an introduction to the genre in English, see Ueda (1999), p. 1-40.

[15] Suga (1936/I), p. 2.

An important characteristic of *kyōka* composition is that, as a rule, it is a joint or even collaborative effort. Meetings and competitions were held, where poets and judges convened and composed poetry on pre-announced themes. This concept was by no means new in Japanese poetic practice. It reflects that of the *utakai* 歌会 'poetry gathering' and *uta awase* 歌合, 'poetry match' that emerged already in ancient times.[16] At *kyōka* matches, *kyōka awase* 狂歌合 - again first practiced in the Kamigata region - poets took turns in reciting their poems on certain established themes. Similar to traditional *uta awase* practice, the poems were not only recited, but - in principle - also judged at the scene. In short, *kyōka* (like *waka*) practice was a communal affair and the social practices of this poetry form are essential for a clearer understanding of the genre.

Moreover, the joint composition of poetry is one of several Japanese art forms created and appreciated in groups. This particular aspect, specific to Japanese cultural life of the Edo period is clarified by Ikegami Eiko, who states:

> The pre-modern Japanese approach to poetry and other arts stands in sharp contrast to the modern notion of artistic and literary appreciation as produced primarily by isolated individuals in private studios or studies. The greater part of artistic and literary endeavors in pre-modern Japan consisted of group activities in which participants were at once producers and recipients of aesthetic productions. This reflects the fact that Japanese people appreciated the interactive *process* of creating an art through an intense emotional rapture of synergy at the site of production. In other words, the Japanese artistic and poetic traditions were highly social as well as intensely aesthetic.[17]

People that actively convened in pursuit of aesthetic production organized themselves in "networks that extended beyond their immediate territorial and status affiliations." Ikegami calls this the "Tokugawa network revolution", and devotes a chapter to the workings of *haikai* poetry networks. Much of Ikegami's theses concerning the horizontal structure and patterns of socialization in *haikai* groups are also applicable to *kyōka* groups. Perhaps the largest dissimilarities lie in the output of materials. *Haikai* publishing far exceeded that of *kyōka* in numbers at any time, yet *kyōka* materials are generally richer in illustrations and use of materials. Whether *haikai* or *kyōka* networks, the practice of gathering in mutual pursuit of aesthetic goals caused inequalities in social status to become of lesser importance.

The fact that traditional social boundaries were crossed in these poetry networks is indicated by the use of (pen) names, which allowed people to assume a different identity for their aesthetic pursuits. Ikegami elaborates on the possibilities for assuming identities as "private, cultured persons", and for *kyōka*

[16] For an overview of *uta awase* from the tenth to the nineteenth century, with translations of both poetry and rulings, see Itō (1991).
[17] Ikegami (2005), p. 4.

circles, too, it was custom to use a *kyōka* name, or *kyōmei* 狂名.[18] Nonetheless, formal social identities were not entirely abandoned in *kyōka* circles. The explicit mention of social class in certain *kyōka* books indicates a strong conscience with regard to social class among *kyōka* poets themselves - whether this indicates that poets were conscious of dissolving boundaries or confirmation of difference in social class. Despite dissolving certain social boundaries similar to what occurred in *haikai* networks, *kyōka* networks obviously also confirmed social status to a certain extent.

Another similarity between *kyōka* and *haikai* competitions is the awarding of points for poems composed at meetings, through a system called *tentori* 点取り. Such a system allows persons of different social positions to be judged on their merits as poets, as cultured people. This way, social boundaries could indeed dissolve, and rigid feudal ties could be suspended for some time. The *tentori* system was widely used for *kyōka*, indicating that in these networks, too, was a tendency to rank poems - and poets therefore - based on their aesthetic quality.

Networks of poets apparent in *surimono*

Surimono contain several clues that point to a growing network of poets who, in an effort to compose the finest *kyōka*, gathered - or interacted through written correspondence - with the objective to collectively hone their skills. The pen-names of individual poets are sometimes accompanied by an indication of their city of residence, pointing to an interaction that surpassed city boundaries. The example set by literati forerunners in the 1760s soon attracted a following, and the rapidly increasing number of amateur poets joined well-organized *kyōka* groups, known as *gawa* 側 or *ren* 連, headed by leading *kyōka* masters, who were even able to make a living out of correcting verses of aspiring amateur poets. The unorganized get-togethers of the small group of literati who composed poetry on a whim, gradually evolved into a highly-organized scene where poets were meticulously ranked according to a fixed set of rules. Later on in the development, the names of poetry groups are featured in elaborate logos. Large series of *surimono*, comprising up to 55 prints issued in one set, point to the considerable size of the poetry groups, as well as to their level of organization.[19] Although it appears that group leaders are initiators of the large publication projects, they are sometimes strangely absent in their club's *surimono* series.

The form and themes that were specific to *haikai* and *kyōka* attracted different types of poets. The practice of convening at certain venues and engaging in the composition of poetry together was not very different in *kyōka* circles, but the level of organization appears to have been higher in the latter. Also, the

[18] For pen names used by poets in the genre of *kyōka* specifically, the words *kyōmei* 狂名 or *kyōgō* 狂号 are often used in scholarly publications. In contemporaneous sources, however, the word *gō* 号 is common. The word *kyōmei* generally applies to the complete pen name, whereas just the word *gō* usually applies to the 'personal name'-part of the *kyōka* pen name, the last segment of the name (commonly the second of two segments). The personal *gō* was less often subject to change.

[19] Admittedly, there is just one *surimono* series of such size. More common numbers for large *surimono* series are 36 and 24.

social background of the poets in each current differed substantially. The aim of *haikai* to create a poem that reflects a certain momentary feeling in connection to a certain seasonal situation, appealed to all layers of society. The aim of *kyōka* to evoke a feeling of 'comic understanding' with the use of references to classic poetry and prose, on the other hand, appealed especially to the well-to-do with a nostalgic penchant for historic subjects. This penchant is reflected in the elaborate *surimono* that *kyōka* poets commissioned. The group structures, as well as the social and cultural background of these poets form part of the subject of this dissertation.

From the above, it may seem that *surimono* were a very important part of the *kyōka* poet's activities, but *surimono* were generally only made once a year, in celebration of the arrival of spring. Only limited numbers of poets feature on *surimono*. Generally speaking, *kyōka surimono* display a distinctly elitist character. The choice for classic literary subjects, the obvious financial input into *surimono* productions, and the restricted availability through private dissemination point to a tendency towards exclusivity on the part of the principal players.

In order to understand both *kyōka* practice, and the workings of *kyōka* poetry networks, it is necessary to investigate *kyōka* books, known as *kyōkabon* 狂歌本. Although the finer examples of *kyōka* books with illustrations in color designed by well-known artists have received attention from an art historic point of view, the information found in *kyōka* books in general - including those of lesser artistic merit - is usually ignored. The rising publication numbers of *kyōka* books from the Tenmei period onwards reflect the increasing popularity of *kyōka* poetry. Their contents - especially prefaces and illustrations - reveal the customary practices concerning meetings and competitions. *Kyōka* books regularly depict successful poets and in some cases mention how well they scored at poetry contests, giving these books a meritocratic aura. The profound interaction between poets of various *kyōka* circles is evident from the inclusion of poet's individual logos, identifying their different affiliations. *Kyōka* books, in many ways, provide an unsurpassed insight into the workings of the *kyōka* circles and networks from which *surimono* stem, principal players, their inspirations and motivations.

Poets' portraits, which frequently appear in illustrated *kyōka* books, offer information on the position in life of individual poets known from *surimono*. Clothing gives an indication of their social rank, as does the presence of (samurai) swords, hair (those without were often doctors or priests), and head wear. Given the playful nature of *kyōka* poetry, and the consequently likewise playful nature of illustrations in *kyōka* books, the trustworthiness of the portrayals is to be carefully assessed, yet a preliminary analysis of poets featuring in *kyōka* books suggests that the genre of *kyōka* appealed to men of samurai stock and economically powerful townsmen, as opposed to other members of society. Regardless of the type of portrayal, being portrayed at all meant that the poet involved had a position of a certain elevation within the network, which is why these portraits in *kyōka* books are of such importance in understanding the networks.

Particular literary and cultural themes in *surimono*

One of the key features of *kyōka* poetry is the frequent allusion to certain historic scenes, cultural customs, or literary classics. The illustrations on *surimono* allow for a visual addition to these allusions. The combination of the two is applied to a large number of themes, ranging from illustrious generals in Chinese and Japanese antiquity, legendary figures from Japanese folklore, various aspects of Japanese cultural life such as yearly (religious) festivals and traditional pastimes, scenes from famous literary classics such as *Genji Monogatari* 源氏物語 (*'The Tale of Genji'*, early eleventh century), and many more. This is not to say that aspects of contemporary popular culture, such as kabuki theater and the licensed quarters was not treated, yet in these cases, too, some sort of reference to classical elegance was common.

Within the body of *surimono* directly inspired on classical literature, some are based on literary works that appear to have been unfamiliar to the larger public. These are works that have not been reworked by authors of popular fiction, and have not enjoyed (the same level of) scholarly attention. Apart from the expected lack of availability of the original source - at least not in print, and therefore not to most people - there is no pictorial tradition established for the illustration of scenes from these literary works. On the one hand, this means that members of the poetry groups that issued these *surimono* based on uncommon literary works were privileged enough to have access to these sources. On the other hand, it means that *surimono* designers had - voluntarily or not - considerable freedom in their depiction of the themes treated in the poetry.

The selection of specific literary classics, especially those that are normally outside the realm of popular reception, suggest a specific pattern of cultural interests and knowledge on the part of *kyōka* poets and producers of *surimono* in the broadest sense. The literary interests of the poets are reflected in the choice of poetic themes, as well as in titles of *surimono* series that frequently allude to literary classics. In the illustrations, the same interests are reflected. The strong relation between text and image suggests that *surimono* designers were very involved in the process of conveying the underlying meanings in the poetry. Indeed, several of the more successful *surimono* designers are known to have engaged in *kyōka* composition themselves. Their apt depiction of certain allusions to the classics points to an equal interest in the literature that the commissioning poets chose for their inspiration. Both from the poetry and the illustrations, a profound sense of appreciation for various aspects of the nation's cultural history - from ancient to recent times - is recognizable.

Complications

Surimono appear to be the product of a complex network of social connections, yet the social background of the members of this network is unclear. Many *surimono* bear the poem of a known *kyōka* master in the far left position, often deemed the honorary position. In these cases, the *kyōka* master's name is often preceded by a small circular mark. The usual explanation is that the two poets who are positioned to the right requested the *kyōka* master to judge their poems and contribute one of his own verses to the *surimono* of which they paid the production costs. Multiple *surimono* featuring the same pair of poets - even within larger series - give the impression that these individuals had control over the inclusion of their poems on

the prints. This seems to contradict the notion that *kyōka* groups ranked their members strictly according to poetic merit. Furthermore, *surimono* function as a commodity among the social networks of *kyōka* groups. The value of these prints as objects to be given as gifts, or exchanged with other poets, appears considerable, yet the patterns of circulation are difficult to grasp. In order to understand the social networks that yielded these intricate prints, the exact workings of the network of amateur poets, *kyōka* masters, and print designers needs to be further investigated.

Surimono display a remarkable cultural, literary and historic knowledge, which appears to reach beyond common knowledge in Edo popular society. Certainly, many literary classics enjoyed a continuous readership, and a reworking in contemporary publications, such as *The tale of Genji*. *Surimono* series, however, regularly revolve around works of classical literature in Japanese that did not enjoy this level of 'reinvention', such as *Torikaebaya monogatari* とりかへばや物語 (*'If only I could change them'*, author unknown, commonly dated to late twelfth century), *Tosa nikki* 土佐日記 (*'The Tosa diary'*, Ki no Tsurayuki, c. 935), *Uji shūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語 (*'Tales from the later gleanings of Uji'*, author unknown, early thirteenth century), et cetera. To a certain extent, this is also the case with *surimono* inspired by Chinese classics. For these works, patterns of reception in poetry and pictorialization in art had not been established. In this respect, these *surimono* seem to be at the forefront of cultural currents. In other words, *surimono* - especially those that revolve around specific classical literature - appear to serve as a vehicle for the expression of a certain cultural engagement.

If indeed *surimono* display a degree of knowledge on a cultural and literary level that is deemed unavailable to general urban society, it remains unclear where this information was gained. The poetry networks appear to provide a setting where cultural knowledge is digested, rather than shared. This assumes a mutual level of knowledge on the part of the poets. This would imply that joining in the pursuit of writing intricate *kyōka* poems was restricted to those who were well-educated. Access to education went through gradual changes during the Edo period, as did access to literary and cultural knowledge, both to a certain extent due to the information revolution that was propelled by the advancements in the technique and distribution of printing. Still, the content of *surimono* suggests a familiarity with sources that circulated in limited circles, and the occurrence of knowledge from these sources in *surimono* seems to points to an amount of cultural capital that reflects - or is linked to - a certain amount of social capital.

Main questions

This research concerns the cultural significance of the poetic genre of *kyōka* in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, its system of social associations, and the cultural and literary influences apparent in the genre's cultural production. The main questions to be answered through the study of *surimono*, *kyōkabon* and related materials are:

What social networks are behind *surimono* and how do they function?

Is there a relation between the social position of poets and their choice for this particular literary genre?

How does *kyōka* as a genre fit within the patterns of (re-)invention of the classics in early-modern Japan?

What is the provenance of cultural and literary knowledge apparent in both poetry and image?

Is the choice for certain literary or historic themes based on individual interests or
does it reflect larger contemporary currents in society?

By mapping the social networks of poets, tracing the literary and artistic antecedents of the *kyōka* material's content, and defining the cultural background of *kyōka* poets, the research presented here strives to put the cultural production of *kyōka* poetry circles in a greater perspective. It is my view that, despite often being treated in isolation, the books and prints do not speak for themselves. They can only be regarded and appreciated as the products of a complex world of social connections, judges, meetings and contests on the one hand, and (popular) art, contemporaneous literary scholarship and a culture of (re-)invention of literary classics on the other.

Structure and method

State of the field

Previous research on the topics of *surimono*, *kyōka* books, and the wider field of Japanese print culture, *kyōka* as a literary genre, social networks in Edo society, and reception of classical literature during the Edo period, will be discussed in chapter one, State of the field.

Introduction to, and categorization of, *surimono*

Chapter two provides a more extensive introduction to *surimono*. Their material qualities and evolution as printed media will be explained using examples from different eras. The development from single sheet prints into *surimono* of a fixed format issued in large series for one poetry group on one occasion is also subject of this chapter. The explanation of various organizational elements in *surimono* provides a method for distinguishing between publication projects of different scales. Most important for this thesis is the subsequent categorization of *surimono* according to theme, which allows for an inventory of those *surimono* that do indeed display a literary knowledge that is beyond which is deemed 'common' or 'established', or at least publicly available. Based on this inventory, *surimono* (series) to which the research questions apply will be selected for further investigation in chapter five.

Introduction to, and categorization of, *kyōkabon*

Kyōkabon 狂歌本, the general name for an array of books related to *kyōka*, offer valuable information on both poetic practice and organizational structure of *kyōka* circles. While *surimono* on many

levels represent the finest in *kyōka* printing, their non-commercial nature and the fact that they were generally issued in small numbers only once a year meant they were not readily available to every *kyōka*-enthusiast. Instead, the most common vehicle for the publication of *kyōka* poetry, were *kyōka* books. As we will see in the categorization presented in this chapter, many *kyōka* books combine poetry and illustrations in a way somewhat similar to that of *surimono*, other books give information on *kyōka* masters, and some books just contain large numbers of poems. In contrast to *surimono*, different types of *kyōka* books were either published commercially by book publishers, or privately by *kyōka* groups.

The different readerships and functions of *kyōka* books lead me to discern three categories: commercial anthologies, competition result books, and *kyōka* information books. The evolution of *kyōka* popularity in Edo will be illustrated using several examples in each of these categories, from earlier to later stages. Commercial anthologies give an indication of the marketability of *kyōka*. The initiative for issuing these books lies with commercial publishers, who had the role of gauging demand. Therefore, these books give an indication of the growth of *kyōka*, and the main personae on the scene. Competition result books provide information on popular themes, frequency of meetings, and scoring practice. They also give an indication of the respective number of members in different clubs. Furthermore, these books also provide information on the ranks of specific poets within their club. *Kyōka* information books contain various insights to daily practice of *kyōka* poets. Common to Edo print culture, these books allow the reader to learn by him- or herself, and understand the qualities that a certain *kyōka* master looks for in a poem. Practical information, on how to submit poems for judgment, for instance, is also found in books of this category.

Social networks and the practice of *kyōka* composition

Chapter four investigates the social networks of *kyōka* poets. To this end, various materials besides these *surimono* will be treated: *kyōka* books in all their varieties contain information about the practical aspects of the competition and the way in which the popularity of *kyōka* spread. Announcements for *kyōka awase* will be presented as further explanation of the organization of *kyōka* competitions. *Banzuke* 番付, ranking tables that were issued after a competition, will be investigated in order to understand the hierarchical system existing in (later) *kyōka* groups. Announcement leaflets, competition result books, and ranking tables together imply a standardized system rewarding competitors based on their individual merits as poets. My investigation of the system suggests, however, that quality of poetry was not the only factor in success as a *kyōka* poet. This leads into the question whether the boundaries of social status were indeed overcome in *kyōka* society, as many suggest. *Kyōka* books provide answers by shedding light on the distribution of poets from different birth status over different *kyōka* circles. *Surimono* were often gathered in albums by the poets who had obtained them through exchange with other poets, and some of these albums survive intact. The social connections between individual poets from different circles are illustrated by these *surimono* albums. Thus, the various materials each illustrate particular aspects of *kyōka* networks. This approach allows for a broad view on the evolution of the *kyōka* society, its material output,

the practical aspects of *kyōka* composition, and the functioning of social networks.

Visualizing the classics in *surimono*

An art historic approach to *surimono* should be complemented by a dissection of its literary context. The art historic and literary aspects of *surimono* are closely linked. In fact, the interplay between text and image is elaborate to a point where it can hardly be discerned whether the illustration was designed with the poem(s) in mind or vice versa. *Surimono* often feature still lifes, allowing for the inclusion of multiple items that pertain to the poetry.[20] The art historic themes in *surimono* have been subject of many a catalog entry, whereas the poetry has often been explained only with regard to the individual print. Both poetry and design reflect an interest in literary classics, particularly those that feature in the contemporary debate on the history of Japanese literature. That debate should therefore be taken into account in *surimono* research. The wider literary context surrounding *kyōka* poetry, in connection to the themes chosen for entire *surimono* series, offers information on the poets' perception of literary history and therefore deserves more attention.

In chapter five, *surimono* series that take a work of classical literature as a theme will be a major focus, because they appear to allude to a much wider canon of classics in Japanese literature than usual in commercially published prints. A specifically defined selection of series will be analyzed, connecting their literary content to contemporaneous scholarship and their pictorial content to existing iconography - if indeed existing at all - in Japanese visual art. Thus, the literary qualities of *surimono* and their position within Edo literature, as well as their links to conventions and inventions in relation to treatment of the same themes in other pictorial art forms, will be expounded.

There are two levels of literary aspects in *surimono*: On one level, the *kyōka* poems - which employ a variety of literary devices such as imagery and symbolism - constitute one branch on the tree of Japanese poetic forms, and as such represent a genre of Japanese literature. On a second level, the *kyōka* poems - combined with and supported by a specific iconography in the illustrations - allude to a fund of knowledge of (classical) literature and cultural tradition shared by creator (including poets in their role of commissioners, as well as print designers) and audience. On this second level, *surimono* offer an insight into *surimono* creators' appreciation of (classical) literature, thereby serving as an example of the reception history of certain works, and incorporation into contemporary arts of a certain body of literature. *Surimono* offer an insight into the views that their creators held of national history and cultural traditions. The *kyōka* poems and the accompanying illustrations, therefore, first need to be investigated with the history of Japanese literature and art in mind, in order to understand the position they take in the total canon of Japanese arts. Second, the content of poems and illustrations need to be investigated with regard to the body of literature and traditions that they refer to. This illustrates the position of *surimono* within the Japanese field of cultural production.

[20] The still-life, uncommon in Japanese commercial prints, was probably a contributing factor to the initial popularity of *surimono* in the West at the end of the nineteenth century.

Several scholars have described connections between branches of *kyōka* society and *kokugaku* 国学, 'national learning', a current in contemporary Japanese scholarship that focused on Japanese literary history and cultural elevation. Indeed, personal connections between *surimono* creators and *kokugaku* scholars have been shown to exist and the choice for certain themes in *surimono* indicates a direct interest in *kokugaku* scholarship, and it is this discourse that needs to be included in the investigation of the treatment of literary sources found in *surimono* design and *kyōka* poetry. On the other hand, *surimono* that borrow from Chinese literature and cultural history are also quite common, which demands a nuanced approach to the question of cultural nostalgia on the part of artists and *kyōka* poets. Several Chinese classical themes were treated in *surimono* by Gakutei Sadaoka 岳亭定岡 (sometimes read Gakutei Teikō, c.1786-c.1855, also known (earlier in his career) as Gakutei Harunobu 岳亭春信 and (later) Yashima Gakutei 八島岳亭) and Totoya Hokkei 魚屋北渓 (1780-1850, also Aoigaoka 葵岡 Hokkei), illustrating mostly Chinese legends and military subjects. Furthermore, several adaptations of the Chinese classic *Suikoden* 水滸伝, "*Heroes of the Water Margin*", Chinese title *Shuihu zhuan*, are found in *surimono*. Utagawa Kuniyoshi 歌川国芳 (1797-1861) designed as much as three series on the subject of *Suikoden*, for instance.[21] The incorporation of Chinese classical literature, however, does not follow along the lines as that of Japanese classical literature. Relatively little-known Chinese literary works in relation to Edo period scholarship - in *kangaku*, in this case - do not appear in *surimono* like the more obscure Japanese texts. The nostalgic tendency is, however, evident in both cases. The similarities and differences between Japanese versus Chinese classical literature in *surimono* will be further discussed in chapter five.

[21] Utagawa Kuniyoshi, who rose to fame after the publication of a large commercial series of *Suikoden* heroes between 1827 and 1830 (See Klompmakers (1998), pp. 27-28), designed three series of women as parodies (*mitate* 見立) for the male heroes form *Suikoden* around 1830. See section 5.2.2 for further discussion of these series. Popularity of the novel *Suikoden* in Japan peaked after its serial publication in an illustrated edition in Japanese, edited by Takizawa Bakin 滝沢馬琴 (Also Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴, 1767-1848) (part 1, in ten volumes) and Takai Ranzan 高井蘭山 (1762-1838) (parts 2-9), with illustrations by Hokusai (and his pupil Taito II for the last third of the 90 volumes), that came out between 1805 and 1838.

Chapter 1: State of the field

1.1 Introduction

The principal aim of this thesis is to put *surimono* in a broader perspective, as products of activities of circles and networks of *kyōka* poets on the one hand, and as indicators of literary pursuits of groups of intellectuals on the other. Both these angles have been pursued to some extent in earlier scholarship, mostly for individual cases. I contend that the broader perspective is needed to fully appreciate what *surimono* represent within contemporary poetry networks and literary reception history. That broader perspective on *kyōka* networks is gained by incorporating the full range of *kyōka*-related materials such as *kyōka* books, competition announcements, poet rankings, *surimono* albums, etcetera, for a completer view on how these networks functioned. The broader perspective on *surimono* as literary publications is gained by tracing the content of literary *surimono* series to (the availability of) literary scholarship of the same era.

The study of *surimono* and related networks of poets and their literary activities is undertaken from various disciplinary angles. An art historic approach is usually preferred for the study of the iconography in *surimono* designs. The activities relating to *kyōka* poetry can be studied from the perspective of history of Japanese literature. The *kyōka* books in all their varieties merit the study of print culture. The networks of poets can be subject of a sociological approach, et cetera, et cetera. This thesis borrows from various disciplines and traditions, in order to create a comprehensive overview on the subject, based on detailed analysis of primary materials. In the next paragraphs, the results of earlier scholarship from various disciplines will be reviewed, complemented by an explanation of my position within previous research.

1.2.1 *Kyōka* poetry networks: functions

Early Japanese scholarship on *kyōka* as literary genre, dating from the interbellum, tends towards inventory works rather than argumentative debate. The strong network structure in *kyōka*, however, is implicitly recognized. That is to say, the tendency to focus on personal merits of individual poetry masters and their followers, as is visible in original *kyōka* publications, has been continued in studies on the subject. Kanō Kaian 狩野快庵, for example, published what is essentially a list of Edo period *kyōka* poets, mainly from Edo, although poets from the Kansai area receive some attention, too.[22] This is a practical tool for those wishing to trace the background of *kyōka* poets featured on *surimono* or in *kyōka* books. The biographical data given for many poets - distilled from a rather arbitrary selection of Edo period *kyōka* books - provides information that allows for a more general overview of the social backgrounds of poets, part of this thesis' focus. Kanō provides an appendix that lists major *kyōka* masters and the poets in their

[22] Kanō, Kaian (1928 [later reprint of 1977 exists]), *Kyōka jinmei jisho* 狂歌人名辞書 '*Dictionary of names of* kyōka *poets*', hereafter abbreviated to KJJ. In the preface, Kanō formulates the general aim of his book as providing the actual names of *kyōka* poets, since unlike, those of *waka* and *haikai* poets, these were largely unknown and unpublished until then, hindering scholarship.

respective circles, essentially displaying the network nature of the genre. The listing of poetry masters and their successors confirms a lineage - in most cases the start of a lineage - along which expertise in *kyōka* was transmitted. Some eight years later, Suga Chikuho provides a first general overview of the historic development of *kyōka* in the bulky *Kinsei kyōkashi* 近世狂歌史 (‘*History of kyōka of the pre-modern period*’, 1936).[23] The major poets of each era and his or her representative publications are presented separately in part three, chapters six thru ten. This largely biographical treatment of the foremost poets of each period, including details of the lineage of their poetic knowledge and their connections to other poets, in fact provides an overview of the interconnected *kyōka* circles.

The way in which *kyōka* groups, *kyōkadan* 狂歌壇, developed and operated, has been studied extensively by Ishikawa Ryō 石川了 (1950-2014). He recognizes the tendency towards the formation of groups soon after the sudden increase in popularity of *kyōka*, focusing primarily on the *ren* around Karagoromo Kisshū 唐衣橘洲 (1743-1802) in Edo in the Tenmei era.[24] Ishikawa also describes *kyōka* groups active in the city of Nagoya in the Bunka and Bunsei eras, based on their various books they issued (not only *kyōka* books).[25] Similar to the case of the large city of Edo, Ishikawa finds, is the fact that group revolved around central figures who were active as authors of popular (comic) literature. In fact, the groups are found to have direct links to the group of Kisshū, and essentially bring this Tenmei era *kyōka* group activity, “狂歌壇活動 *kyōkadan katsudō*”, to Nagoya. A major difference, perhaps due to smaller numbers of participants, is the fact that most publications concern manuscript *kyōka* books, and not printed works such as prevailed in Edo. In comparison to the relatively fragmented accounts presented in earlier research, the descriptive work of Ishikawa provides comprehensive case studies of related to *kyōka* groups.

The interregional connections in *kyōka* networks receive attention from Takahashi Akinori 高橋章則, who discusses the poetic activities of (lower) officials in the *bakufu* administration who traveled between Edo and the provinces.[26] Takahashi uses various primary materials such as *kyōka* books (competition results) and ranking tables to illustrate how *kyōka* groups from different cities and villages connected through traveling poets, or traveling professionals who composed *kyōka* as amateurs. It is considered established knowledge that *kyōka* groups had a great reach even in the periphery, and

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[23] Suga (1936/I). Suga also published an overview of *kyōka* books from Edo/from the Edo period, entitled *Kyōka shomoku shūsei* 狂歌書目集成 (‘*Anthology of* kyōka *publications*’) (Hoshino shoten 星野書店, 1936/VI). According to the annotated bibliography in Hamada and Morikawa (1977), p. 467, this book is basically a corrected version of *Kyōkashū mokuroku* 狂歌集目録 (‘*Index of* kyōka *anthologies*’), compiled by Nozaki Sabun (also sometimes read Samon) 野崎左文 and published in 1926.

[24] I use the term era to designate the *nengō* 年号, era names given to the timespan (generally) corresponding to the reign of an emperor (though also subject to change during the reign of emperors for various reasons ranging from natural disasters to ominous years in the calendrical system). I use the word period for the generally accepted historical periods (division of which is by and large based on institutional changes). Thus, the Tenmei era, for instance, is an era within the Edo period.

[25] Ishikawa (1989), pp. 43-54.

[26] Takahashi (2007).

Takahashi's study provides data on actual ongoing exchange, specifically in the Bunka and Bunsei eras. The practical aspects deduced form *kyōka* books and related materials are very insightful for understanding the way in which *kyōka* networks operated. Takahashi asks direct questions concerning the use of certain printed indications in *kyōka* books, such as the marking of the place of residence of a poet together with his or her name, sometimes even specifying further details on the poets' location and situation. The explanations of these markings allow for a better comprehension of the flow of people, poems, books - and perhaps prints and paintings - within the *kyōka* scene, and underline the significance of these otherwise undetermined markings to the poets involved. Such explanations of practical matters pertaining to the composition of *kyōka* feature in more of Takahashi's work, such as his article on the concept of *tōza* 当座 ('at the meeting'), where the attendance of poets from outside the city at meetings (in Edo) is also discussed.[27]

The study of *kyōka* networks as apparent in *kyōka* books is further facilitated by various sources in Japanese that are geared towards disclosing primary materials. For instance, *Edo kyōkabon senshū* 江戸狂歌本選集 ('*Selected compilation of Edo kyōka books*'), a series in fifteen volumes, provides transcriptions for a wide and representative selection of *kyōka* books published from the Tenmei to the Tenpō era.[28] The books to be presented in this series were selected by Hamada Giichirō, who had previously contributed similar inventory work to general series on Japanese literature.[29] Such inventory works provide reliable data concerning Edo period *kyōka* books, presented in a strict bibliographical format. The transcriptions of prefaces, poems and other written information found in primary sources disclose research material that would be very complicated and time-consuming to correctly handle for any scholar of *kyōka*, no matter how proficient in deciphering Edo period Japanese text. *Edo kyōkabon senshū* is aimed at disclosing research material and not at discussing the nature of the material. Publications like these, which make this material available in such quantities, do, however, contribute to the field of study of *kyōka* in important ways, enabling discussion and debate in other publications.

The relation between *kyōka* group activities and the publication of *surimono* has been treated to some extent in art historic research in Europe and the United States. The reason that this relation has received attention first outside Japan lies in the fact that *surimono* had been exported in large quantities from the late nineteenth century, and that *surimono* as research material were abundantly present in the West. Scholars studying *surimono* have come to acknowledge the fact that these prints cannot be regarded as isolated objects, but that they are usually part of a larger body of output by poetry groups. Looking at *kyōka* books for information on the poetry networks behind *surimono* was first done in the exhibition catalogue *Art of the Surimono* (held at Indiana University Art Museum), in which James T. Kenney gives "A

[27] Takahashi (2008). For further explanation of *tōza*, please refer to section 3.2.
[28] Edo kyōkabon senshū kankōkai (Ed., 1998-2007).
[29] See for instance Hamada (1971) and Hamada (1977). The entries in these large encompassing series on Japanese literature often contain general introductions to the genre, followed by (in the case of *kyōka*) poems from representative books of the era discussed.

brief history of *kyōka* and the Edo *kyōka* movement".[30] The text is not argumentative, nor does it present much in the sense of documentary evidence to support the statements made with regard to motivations attributed to principal poets in the history of *kyōka*. Yet the fact that illustrations from *kyōka* books are presented to explain the practice and workings of the *kyōka* movement - what I choose to call the (institutionalized) *kyōka* society - could in itself be taken as an argument in favor of incorporating the study of *kyōka* books into the study of *surimono*, in order to better understand the social networks behind these prints.

The way Bowie et. al. framed *surimono* in their cultural context, complementing the art historic description with a social and literary background of *surimono*, set a standard that would later often be adhered to in both exhibition and institutional catalogues of *surimono*. Catalogues published since then usually contain introductory essays in which an impression is given of the workings of *kyōka* poetry groups. A landmark among these is the two-volume catalogue of the collection kept in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, Ireland, of 1985, authored by Roger Keyes.[31] The majority of the entries incorporate a transcription and translation of the poem or poems on the print, allowing readers to further appreciate and understand the relation between text and image, as Keyes promotes in the introduction. Furthermore, among the appendices is an extensive list of *kyōka* poets.[32] Synthesizing biographical and bibliographical information, Keyes is able to shed more light on the workings of *kyōka* poetry groups.

An important acknowledgement of the organizational aspect of poetry groups and the series of *surimono* they issued was forwarded by Jan Willem Goslings (1943-2011). Himself an avid collector of *kyōka surimono*, Goslings identified *kyōka* poetry group logos on *surimono* and listed *surimono* series per group that issued them in a short contribution to a catalog accompanying a small exhibition held in 1987.[33] The overview of logos and the list of *surimono* series is not complete - no overview or list will ever be - but given the state of the field at that time, it is a tremendous step forward in recognizing and identifying the organizational structure behind *kyōka surimono* series.

Goslings donated his collection to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. The *surimono* he collected are presented in an extensive catalog authored by Matthi Forrer, who in the introduction reflects on the organizational aspects of issuing *kyōka* books and *surimono*.[34] He speculates that poets featuring in *surimono* series earned their place mainly through financial means, since many of them feature together prints issued in subsequent years. This is corroborated by overviews of such instances in series issued by the Yomogawa and the Hisakatayaren that he provides. The overview for the poets repeatedly featuring together in prints of the Yomogawa is convincing, since it is indeed too much of a coincidence that the

[30] Bowie et al. (1979), pp.24-43.
[31] This catalogue was much anticipated by Bowie in the aforementioned annotated bibliography. Bowie et al.. (1979), p. 185.
[32] Keyes (1985), pp. 529-555.
[33] Goslings (1987), pp. 6-16. The overview gives some 25 logos and identifies several more poetry groups. The list of series spans almost three pages. Goslings went on to identify many more series - totaling over 340 - gathered in an unpublished manuscript of 2002 that has been an invaluable source during my investigations.
[34] Forrer (2013).

same poets would end up on one print year after year if selection of poems would be carried out based only on quality, among the large numbers of members of the Yomogawa.

Where Keyes and especially Goslings and Forrer provide data that shed light on the organization of poetry groups involved in commissioning *surimono*, John T. Carpenter presents a detailed case study into the connections to *surimono* designer and poet Kubo Shunman.[35] Carpenter focuses on "collaborative aspects of *surimono*"; he uses a variety of information on the social connections between the artist Shunman and (other) *kyōka* poets, in order to deduce how (series of) *surimono*, especially on literary themes, came into being. Despite the designer-centered approach, the social connections to poetry groups surfacing in this study - specifically those to scholars of classical literature - offer an insight into the motivation of specific groups with regard to the commissions of certain *surimono* series.

As may be deduced from the above, most research on *surimono* is presented in (art) catalogues. Despite all the research that has been carried out thus far, the first comprehensive monograph dedicated to *surimono* is yet to appear. The downside of research conducted specifically for publication in relation to an exhibition, or research specifically on the collection of an institution, is that the character of the exhibition or collection dictates the scope of the research. And the selection criteria for exhibitions or collections are usually not congruent with larger scholarly questions. Studies like those presented in catalogues are important in offering a background to the origins of the *surimono* commissions, yet the ways the larger social networks of *kyōka* poets functioned are hardly investigated. Furthermore, focus is commonly placed on the groups' activities with regard to *surimono* only, whereas activities of poetry groups were by no means limited to issuing *surimono*. *Surimono* were usually issued once a year at New Year, and it is a mistake to think that *kyōka* poets only composed a poem or two for this occasion, and not during the rest of the year. The practice of regular *kyōka* competitions and the publication of *kyōka* books, for instance, are largely ignored. The question, therefore, of how *surimono* relate to the general activities of *kyōka* groups remains largely unanswered.

Kyōka books, which in my view provide the most complete information on matters of *kyōka* poetry networks, have thus far received little dedicated scholarly attention. That is to say, the research done on *kyōka* books is commonly part of an investigation of a certain topic for which an overview of the genre of *kyōka* books as such is deemed unnecessary. Outside Japan, investigation of *kyōka* books is usually conducted as part of art historic studies. Apart from an article dedicated to the *kyōka* books published by Tsutaya Jūzaburō, authored by Chibbett (1976), and an article on *kyōka* albums from the Kansei era by Forrer (1982), *kyōka* books have been introduced mostly in general publications on Japanese illustrated books such as (again) Chibbett (1977), Hillier (1987) and Keyes (2006). These publications mostly focus on the artistic aspects of the illustrations, the material qualities and craftsmanship involved in the design and production of the book as a whole. This is congruent with the fact that many collectors

[35] Carpenter (2004), pp. 77-113.

outside Japan focused on visual qualities of these books, as I have mentioned earlier. The article by Forrer (2009) is an exception in that it contains some remarks on the networks of poets from various social backgrounds, which can be observed in *kyōka* books.

In Japanese research, *kyōka* books are commonly either part of research on a certain poet or designer, or subject of a larger study aiming at providing inventory data. In works of the latter type, more specifically the inventory of *kyōka* books by Suga (1936/VI) and the extensive series *Edo kyōkabon senshū* (1998-2007, in fifteen vols.), certain designations of what type of *kyōka* book is listed are provided. Yet, an elucidated categorization such as presented in chapter three of this thesis is new.

Kobayashi is the first to actually link *kyōka* books and *surimono* to a greater extent.[36] Although her focus is on the "literary dimensions" of *surimono* that she justly argues have been given too little attention thus far, her treatment of the practice of commissioning *kyōka* anthologies by *kyōka* groups offers valuable information on the poetry groups behind both *surimono* and *kyōka* books in the early stages of popularity in Edo. One of the points she makes is the idea that series of *surimono* came to replace *kyōka* anthologies, serving the same purpose of "a vehicle for publication" [of New Year's verses, not those composed during the year].[37] She states: "Series of *surimono* can be seen as a format that combined the attractive, intimate image-text relationship of individual *surimono* with the collaborative aspects of group anthologies".[38] As Kobayashi clarifies, the first three or four years of the nineteenth century constituted a turning point.[39] The chapter is accompanied by an appendix listing New Year's *kyōka* anthologies issued by major *kyōka* groups from Edo. This list provides a valuable insight into *kyōka* groups' practice of yearly publication of their member's verses. The *kyōka* books treated here concern New Year's anthologies published mainly in the last decade of the eighteenth century, up until the 'turning point' after which *surimono* series came to their own. In connection to the (biographical) information given on the respective group leaders, this provides an insight into at least the social networks in the upper echelons of the *kyōka* poetry scene, at a time when *kyōka* popularity was still very much on the increase. Yet, the practice during the heyday of *kyōka* - i.e. the Bunka and Bunsei eras - Kobayashi admits, when large *surimono* series were issued, is beyond the scope of her essay.

My approach is to take the contextualization of *surimono* one step further, regarding them as just one example of the various (printed) materials commissioned or produced by (groups of) *kyōka* poets. In my view, the complete variety of materials related to *kyōka* (where possible) needs to be taken into consideration in order to fully understand the networks of poets behind *surimono*. To understand the practice - not only yearly, but monthly or even daily - of *kyōka* poetry groups at the time when *kyōka surimono* were published in their highest numbers, during the 1810s and 1820s, it is necessary to also investigate the connected publications in book form, and not only books that came out around New Year,

[36] Kobayashi, F. (2005), pp. 158-179.
[37] Kobayashi, F. (2005), p. 161.
[38] Kobayashi, F. (2005), p. 170.
[39] Kobayashi, F. (2005), p. 170.

but *kyōka* books in all their varieties as published throughout the year. This will shed light on the relations of *kyōka* poets, designers, publishers, et cetera. in the social networks of *kyōka* poetry.

1.2.2 Social position and the choice for *kyōka*

The subject of *haikai* poetry networks - always larger in scale and popularity than those of *kyōka* - has been treated from a largely sociological perspective by Ikegami Eiko, who presents them as one example of what she dubs "aesthetic publics".[40] It is telling that she has to resort to using an illustration from a *kyōka* book as visual documentation of how a poetry meeting may have looked.[41] *Haikai* poetry books are generally not as richly illustrated, and if they are, they have a tendency not to take the poets themselves as subject for the illustrations. In comparison, portrait books of *kyōka* poets are quite common.[42] The sheer number of *haikai*-related images in books and paintings, however, would make it likely that illustrations of *haikai* meetings are extant. On the one hand, the decision to use the image despite the difference in poetic genre is defendable: many of the larger issues in this chapter - organizational structure of the networks, commercialization of *haikai* practice, poetry names and anonymity, crossing of social boundaries, position of artists within the network - are also applicable to *kyōka* networks, albeit only to a certain extent, of course. On the other hand, the many variables with regard to the number of participants, their individual class and financial status, objectives in choosing for one or the other poetic genre, make the decision to present this illustration as visual documentation debatable. In fact, Ikegami borrows from the *kyōka* world again later on in the chapter, presenting the activities of Ōta Nanpo 大田南畝, arguably the foremost figure in Edo *kyōka*, as representative of the *haikai* spirit. Despite the criticism that can be had with regard to the use of sources, Ikegami reaches some general insights that seem very much applicable to "aesthetic publics" such as in established in both *haikai* and *kyōka*. The characterization "networks of interested amateurs in a society animated by playfulness as well as a desire for self-improvement" seems like a very apt general description of the institutionalized *kyōka* society.[43]

Parts of Ikegami's sociological approach and comprehensive analysis of the functioning of *haikai* poetry networks benefit the study of *kyōka* networks. For example: Ikegami investigates the "horizontal structure or *haikai* organizations", tracing the common configuration of a poetry master and his or her followers, and their respective "formal identities". The use of *haikai* names (*haimei* 俳名), Ikegami argues, allows poets to ignore "status identities" and thereby overstep social boundaries.[44] A similar argument,

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[40] Ikegami (2005), chapter 7: "The *Haikai*, Network Poetry", pp. 171-203. Chapter 8, "Poetry and Protest: The Rise of Social Power", pp. 204-220, also takes *haikai* poetry as subject, though focusing more on cultural and political aspects.
[41] Ibid, p. 174, fig. 7.1. The caption gives the artist's name as Yoshima (sic) Gakutei, but this should read Yashima Gakutei.
[42] This particular tendency of portraying the poets themselves as seen in *kyōka* books is further discussed in section 3.1.
[43] Ikegami (2005), p 193.
[44] Ikegami (2005), pp. 174-176.

though for the case of *kyōka*, was made by Iwasaki Haruko, in her "author-centered" analysis of the literary community around six writers of *gesaku* 戯作, "satirico-comical popular literature".[45] Iwasaki discusses *kyōka* composition as part of many *gesaku* writers' activities (as does Ishikawa, see above), stating that *kyōka* parties were "egalitarian" and the "casual disregard for class and sex barriers at least in part accounts for the great growth of *kyōka* that ensued".[46] Where Ikegami sketches an overview of social behavior based on general and mostly secondary sources, Iwasaki analyzes the *kyōka* world "free from society's hierarchies" of the Tenmei era through the incorporation of a multitude of (quotes from) contemporary primary sources.[47]

The issues of formal identities and overstepping class barriers also form part of my analysis of *kyōka* networks, albeit from later decades than Tenmei. I contend that a certain level of class segregation continued to exist, or perhaps crept back into the world of *kyōka* in later years. On this matter, Iwasaki states that "the division between samurai and chonin was a loose one, however, resulting not so much from class divisions as from geographical convenience".[48] There are two problems with this statement. The first is the overarching question of class divisions in general. The question as to what extent 'classes' were separated, especially in the urban environment of Edo, is a large debate in itself that will be treated in some detail in chapter four. Suffice to say here, that the prevailing idea is that despite samurai and *chōnin* 町人 (commonly translated as 'townsmen', which includes both merchants and artisans) mingled on many occasions, and certainly in the popular arts. My analysis, however, is based on the networks apparent in *surimono* series and *surimono* albums, and biographical information distilled mostly from *kyōka* books, in which the 'status identities' of individual members are both implicitly and explicitly given. Thus, the analysis of various primary *kyōka* materials yields an insight into this matter of status boundaries. It should be noted that these insights are based on the actual situation as visible in Bunka and Bunsei era materials, and encompass *kyōka* networks larger than those of the Tenmei era as discussed by Iwasaki.

The second problematic point is that of "geographical convenience." This may have held some truth for the Tenmei era, but the extent to which poets from areas all over Japan participate in *kyōka* groups' activities - whether present in person or not - indicates that geographic boundaries are of little consequence in later eras. On the contrary, the flexibility of choice that individual poets had in selecting a *kyōka* master to affiliate to gives any pattern in status-based connections within groups more weight, rather than less.

The analysis of the division of class background between *kyōka* groups automatically also yields an overview of class participation in *kyōka* poetry in general. Ikegami has sufficiently argued that *haikai* was a genre that was practiced in virtually all strata of society. Despite the obviously widespread popularity

[45] Iwasaki (1984), abstract and pp. 61-63.
[46] Iwasaki (1984), abstract and p. 62. The link between *kyōka* and *gesaku* is also treated by Suga (1936/I), in chapter 4 of the 'supplementary part', pp. 443-480.
[47] Iwasaki (1984), abstract and p. 206.
[48] Iwasaki (1984), p. 202. Note that this, again, concerns the earlier Tenmei era. (In chonin (sic), the macron on the o is lacking.)

of the genre of *kyōka*, it remains questionable whether *kyōka* was similarly practiced throughout society. The common view in the West has always been that *kyōka* poets were to be found in the higher echelons of society, in terms of economic capital mainly. The luxurious appearance of *surimono* and deluxe *kyōka* books surviving in collections outside Japan - initially collected for their art historic and material qualities - easily leads to that assumption. An investigation of related materials of lesser luxurious execution allow for a more nuanced view, as will become clear from my analysis in chapter four.

My analysis of *kyōka* related materials regardless of type or level of execution is a break away from traditional scholarship on *surimono* and the finest of *kyōka* books. The analysis of the full reach of *kyōka* networks in chapter four will be mainly concerned with social associations, although data on the economic circumstances of poets will naturally form part of the results. The birth status of poets is, interestingly, explicitly recorded in *kyōka* books that include biographies of poets. This data will also be analyzed in chapter four. The cultural capital of *kyōka* poets and designers will be investigated in chapter five, based on research into the content of *surimono* series on literary themes. Here, the social connections in these (narrower) intellectual networks also form part of the results. The ways in which *kyōka* poets incorporated references to their literary past, as well as their motivations for doing so specifically through the genre of *kyōka* will be discussed in the following sections.

1.3 Visualizing the classics with *kyōka*

1.3.1 *Kyōka* and reception of the classics

The tendency to incorporate references to the cultural and literary past is strongly present in practically all the arts of the Edo period. This statement is deliberately vague, in order to accommodate the variety of examples that can be given; Edo period painting incorporated and adapted classical elements, woodblock print designs depicted scenes from historic tales, popular literature incorporated (extensive) references to classical literature, classic iconography and motifs were used in designs for ceramics and lacquer work, et cetera., et cetera.. This practice of looking back to and reinterpreting the past in contemporaneous arts has been studied for a variety of individual cases, whether they concern literature, painting, theatre, or otherwise. The overall tendency has been aptly described by Edward Kamens:

> Many institutions, values, and forms appear to have remained fixed and to have been communicated from generation to generation in seemingly unbroken lineages; yet in each age they have undergone alterations, returnings to present conditions. Preservation and re-creation of that which is inherited is all-important, but so is the need to be in step with current fashion, to adapt to contemporary circumstances, so the act of re-creation often produces change, generally more subtle than radical.[49]

[49] Wheelwright (Ed., 1989), p. 22.

With the above in mind, the tendency to refer to the cultural and literary past as apparent in *kyōka*-related materials is not extraordinary. The style of incorporating references to the classics[50], congruent with the nature of *kyōka* as poetic genre, is, however, quite typical. There is a difference in the extent to which references to the classics are made in *kyōka* books on the one hand, and *surimono* on the other. Generally speaking, *surimono* leave more room for carefully interwoven meanings shared between text and image, whereas *kyōka* books often refer to literary classics in their titles, yet less obviously in their content. Elements referring to the classics as seen in *kyōka* books have not been given much attention thus far, and will receive such treatment in the following chapters. *Surimono*, on the other hand, have been subject to such study.

The investigation into the literary antecedents of *surimono* only became possible after the literary aspects of *surimono* were recognized. Roger Keyes points to the necessity of understanding the relations between *surimono* and literature, in his introduction to the Chester Beatty library catalogue mentioned above.[51] The literary component was later specifically emphasized by Carpenter, in his essay "Ways of Reading *Surimono*: Poetry-Prints to Celebrate the New Year".[52] Carpenter describes the various aspects of *surimono*, yet approaches their content more specifically from a literary angle. After explaining how focusing on the text of *surimono* can aid in understanding the visual puns in the images, he writes: "This essay, however, will focus on the aspect that modern aficionados usually ignore - the texts", and "I shall examine a number of poetry-prints from the collection to demonstrate how *surimono* may be read as a hybrid genre combining art and literature."[53] He concludes that "poets [featured on *surimono*] shared a knowledge of a long and distinguished literary tradition", stating, furthermore, that the merits of greater familiarity with the literary and historical references found in *surimono* - now possible through the greater accessibility to translations of these - should further enhance our enjoyment of *surimono*.

The way in which classical literature is incorporated into *kyōka surimono* differs over the course of development, and is invariably complex to define in a general manner. Modes of, as well as reasons for referring to classical literature and also cultural history in *surimono*, specifically those issued during the Bunka and Bunsei eras, are described by McKee as follows:

> Unlike anthologies, it was through the privately commissioned *surimono* that *kyōka* practitioners could directly display the refined, "courtly" attributes, specifically skill in poetry composition, and virtually - through the ability to summon the finest hands and materials for producing their works

[50] For the debate on what exactly constitutes 'classics', I refer to Shirane and Suzuki (Eds., 2000), introduction. As a loose definition, I use the word 'classics' for those works of classical literature, whether Japanese or Chinese in origin, that had been established as classics through ongoing reproduction and consumption among a considerable part of society, not being limited to - for instance - imperial court or clergy only.
[51] Keyes (1985), p. 9-10.
[52] Mirviss and Carpenter (1995), pp. 36-59.
[53] Mirviss and Carpenter (1995), p. 38.

- calligraphy and painting, but most importantly of all, broad learning and impeccable taste, presenting themselves as people of quality. The classicism that pervaded their poetry was directly transferred to *surimono* form, which from its shape to its bright translucent colors and appearance of precious metals aimed at presenting an image of courtly richness and refinement, while calligraphic poetry and its illustration summoned up the past in stately, elegant fashion, applying its idealized forms to aspects of reality. Nowhere was this overlay of the past onto present structure more smoothly accomplished than in this imagery, which specifically portrayed the contemporary scene with classical elegance, or presented legendary scenes or venerable objects to illustrate modern verses.[54]

McKee thus sketches the overall affinity with the past on the part of *kyōka* poets, yet their concrete treatment of classical texts in *surimono* is not taken into consideration.

Carpenter discusses some specific cases in which classical texts were reworked into series of *surimono*, listing and analyzing several *surimono* series designed by Kubo Shunman.[55] Instrumental in his analysis are two *surimono* series, one based on *Kamakurashi* 鎌倉志 (*'Chronicles of Kamakura'*)[56] and one based on the relative obscure of tale *Torikaebaya Monogatari*.[57] Carpenter conjectures how the intellectual process around such *surimono* series may have taken place:

> Presumably when a classical literary theme was being selected for a series it would be discussed together at a poetry gathering. Once the selection was made, the individual poets might flaunt their talent and erudition by including subtle allusions to classical sources in their *kyōka*. But at the same time they had to abide by the protocol of creating a message suitable for a New Year's greeting, hence the ubiquitous references to vernal phenomena. A designer such as Shunman could play off the poems submitted in advance to carry out a level of visual punning.[58]

For this "visual punning", Shunman employs "mostly still-lifes and courtly scenes […] engaging in the expected wordplay and indirect allusions to phrases in the original text." As for the way in which classical literature is incorporated, Carpenter states: "As with other series on classical themes by Shunman, each print is identified by a phrase or quotation borrowed from the *Torikaebaya* tale. It is then

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[54] McKee (2008 [1]), p. 431. It is debatable whether 'modern' is an apt term to describe *kyōka* poems of the Edo period, given that they lean so heavily on the past. For a debate on the term classicism with regard to Japanese art of the (early) Edo period, please refer to Lillehoj (Ed., 2004), introduction.
[55] Carpenter (2004), pp. 77-113. For his essay, carpenter makes extensive use of the scholarship of Tanaka Tatsuya 田中達也, whose research on Shunman was published in a series of three articles in *Ukiyo-e geijutsu* 浮世絵芸術 (*'Ukiyo-e Art'*) in 1993 (vols. 107-109). See Tanaka (1993 [1][2][3]).
[56] Carpenter's translation of title.
[57] Carpenter's translation of title. A c. late 12th or early 13th century tale of a Minister unhappy about his son and daughter displaying a reversal of traditional gender-roles, the first playing with dolls, the second playing the Japanese (foot)ball game, *kemari* 蹴鞠, variant of soccer that was apparently not commonly practiced by girls.
[58] Carpenter (2004), p. 95.

accompanied by one or more *kyōka* that tie into the theme either by punning on words or phrases borrowed from the original text or cleverly alluding to persons or events from the narrative."[59]

The *surimono* series investigated by Carpenter are, however, not representative of series that revolve around a certain classical text. The question remains whether the pattern found in the treatment of classical literature in *surimono* by Shunman is also present in series by other artists, or that a certain approach is perhaps related to specific *kyōka* groups. My analysis of *surimono* series based on classical literary texts will provide a more inclusive understanding of how *kyōka* groups, and specifically those subgroups that collaborated on *surimono*, fit into the reception history of classical literature. Furthermore, in an attempt to provide some verifiable data to assess Carpenter's assumptions with regard to the decision-making process for literary series, I examine the extent to which designers and poets handled the overall reworking of the classical text in question.

1.3.2 Cultural self-identification, intellectual networks, and the provenance of cultural and literary knowledge

The question of *how* classical literature was incorporated into *surimono*, as discussed in the previous paragraph, is inevitably followed by the question *why* classical literature was incorporated, and why it was incorporated in the way that it was. In contrast to the relatively limited number of scholarship on the *how*, the *why* has been treated less sparsely. With the advancing knowledge of *surimono*, their content, publication specifics, their conception, social background, literary antecedents, et cetera., it became clear that *surimono* reflect certain cultural interests related to a specific *Zeitgeist* in Edo culture. In a way, the attention to detail employed in earlier works allows researchers of recent times to take a step back from the canvas, and view the entire picture - rather, the context - of *surimono* and *kyōka*. It is precisely this aim that I have in this thesis.

The common idea is that the penchant for classical literature on the part of *kyōka* poets coincided with a discourse of cultural nationalism prevailing among networks of intellectuals in Japan; a line of argumentation that is followed principally by Carpenter and McKee. In the same article on Shunman's literary series, Carpenter recognizes that *surimono* "document networks of learned men and women who were re-establishing ties with their own past, with a national literature and a shared cultural legacy."[60] He links this to the movement of *kokugaku*, a scholarly tradition commonly called 'national learning' or 'nativist learning', which was initially focused on exegesis of classical Japanese texts.[61] Indeed, several prominent *kyōka* poets and some *surimono* designers are known to have had connections to this movement, or to have been *kokugaku* scholars themselves.

Where Carpenter assumes that this penchant visible in *surimono* reflects "nostalgia for a mythical past and idealized courtly society, a golden age far removed from the realities of present-day famines, fires

[59] Carpenter (2004), p. 100.
[60] Carpenter (2004), p. 103-104.
[61] For further definition of *kokugaku*, please refer to chapter five.

and a repressive Tokugawa Government," McKee takes it one step further, interpreting the "entire nineteenth century *kyōka surimono* movement as a classical revival, not merely dabbling with the past, but attempting to become its contemporary manifestation. This implies that *surimono*'s participants viewed themselves in the mode of talented courtiers, their prints as poetic presentation sheets, and their competitive exchange as classical *awase*, an interpretation bourn out by the style and content of *kyōka* meetings, and the works exchanged at them."[62]

Above statements both pertain to the links between *surimono* and *kokugaku*. However, several *surimono* of the same era revolve around classical Chinese texts, and many more refer to prominent figures from Chinese history. This is also - briefly - acknowledged by McKee, who notices "no sense of conflict or taboo" in *surimono*.[63] The term *kokugaku* is said to have been formulated to clarify the distinction with studies focusing on China and Chinese texts, *kangaku* 漢学.[64] Depending on the person involved in the discourse, the distinction between the two may have been relatively definite. To add to the confusion, some *surimono* feature objects relating to Dutch studies, *rangaku* 蘭学. The fact that *surimono* employ both 'national' and 'foreign' themes, may point to the fact that - at least to some of those involved in *surimono* - the nostalgia is more important than the debate. My analysis in chapter five, however, will show that witty escapism into forlorn eras was commonly a stronger motivation for the choice of subject than political debates.

Intellectual networks and the provenance of knowledge

The question to be asked in each of the cases, whether *kyōka* materials feature influences from *kokugaku*, *kangaku* or otherwise, is what the provenance of the displayed knowledge is. Carpenter affirms that *Torikaebaya monogatari* was known to *kokugaku* scholars through the transmission of manuscripts, but had not yet been published in printed form when the series on this theme designed by Shunman was issued, in 1813.[65] This makes examining the way in which the content of the tale was adapted into poetry and image in *surimono* all the more worthwhile, because it means that those involved could not borrow from an established iconography or poetic appropriation. The choices made with regard to the treatment of the work of classical literature are therefore undiluted, so to speak, and allow for more precise analysis. Carpenter traces the provenance of knowledge of *Torikaebaya monogatari* to specific *kokugaku* scholars in the intellectual network around Shunman. In this case, the designer seems to have been a rather great influence on the decision making process for this particular *surimono* series.

In my investigation of *surimono* series on literary themes, I will take a similar approach in establishing whether the classical text on which a particular series is based was known to a wide audience, was available in print, or had an established iconography. I apply this approach to other series by Shunman

[62] Carpenter (2004), pp. 104; McKee (2008 [1]), p. 430.
[63] McKee (2008 [1]), p. 471.
[64] Burns (2003), p. 2.
[65] Carpenter (2004), pp. 95-101.

and to series on literary themes designed by other artists. Furthermore, I trace the intellectual network around artists and *kyōka* poetry masters for a number of *kyōka* books and *surimono* series on both Japanese and Chinese themes, in order to deduce how literary knowledge entered the spheres of *kyōka*. The results of this wide-ranging investigation will provide a nuanced overview of the institutionalized *kyōka* society, its links to contemporary scholarship, and its motivations for incorporating various themes.

Conclusion

Many secondary sources on *surimono* and the genre of *kyōka* poetry have been published to date, yet despite all the inventory work that has been done on the (visual and textual) content of these materials, the questions raised in this thesis have deserved scarce attention in academia thus far. The limited scholarship presented in this chapter makes it quite clear that only a handful of scholars is concerned with the debate on how *kyōka* networks functioned, who the poets were, how their status related to intellectual interests, and what motivated them to produce these materials. Throughout this thesis, ample use will be made of the many catalogues and inventory works dedicated to *surimono* and *kyōka*. The fact that the majority of these do not appear in this literature review reveals how little most of these publications are concerned with the larger questions I aim to resolve here. Nevertheless, it is on account of the ample investigations that have been carried out thus far that further discussion of the research questions raised above has become possible. The complexity of *kyōka* related materials, their conception and position in Japanese art, literature and society of the Edo period demands profound discussion and research, and it is my aim to contribute to not only the discussion itself, but also to the scholarly awareness of the significance for the study of Edo period arts in general, inherent to these materials.

Chapter 2: *Surimono*: definition and categorization

2.1 Introduction to chapters two and three

Chapters two and three introduce the main research materials used in this thesis: *surimono* and *kyōka* books. These complex materials merit a dedicated description before setting off into the study of *kyōka* poetry networks and connections to classical literature. The respective treatment of *surimono* and *kyōka* books in these next two chapters differs slightly. *Surimono* have been the object of multiple studies, mainly exhibition catalogues, in which the scope of these artifacts have been outlined and suggestions have been made for categorization. I will present a summary of the combined knowledge regarding these prints - their development, position within Edo period printing, and material qualities - distilled from previous scholarship and complemented by the results of my own investigations. Furthermore, I discuss the suggested categorizations and to what extent these are applicable to my research objectives.

Kyōka books have not received the same kind of attention that *surimono* have. Very generally speaking, in Japanese scholarship, *kyōka* books serve as research material for the study of the literary genre of *kyōka*. Outside Japan, *kyōka* books have been given attention in art historic context, usually the more luxurious editions serving as examples of superior design and printing technique. I borrow from both traditions, outlining first of all the practices of composing *kyōka* and publishing these in book form. After an overview of the elements to be found in *kyōka* books, and an explanation of how these should be understood, I propose a categorization based on my own investigations, and catered to my research objectives. The respective categories are explained by introducing representative examples of *kyōka* books. These categories are not congruent with those in *surimono*, as the objectives for publication were different. The foremost matter that sets *kyōka* books apart from *surimono* is the fact that a considerable portion of the oeuvre of books was commercially marketed. Therefore, patterns of conception, publication initiative, production and distribution of *kyōka* books are different than those of *kyōka surimono*.

At the end of chapter four, a combined conclusion to both chapter three and four will be presented, concerning the respective suitability and significance of *surimono* and *kyōka* books as primary materials for the research questions addressed in this thesis.

2.1.1 *Surimono*: history and development

Without the well-developed technique of woodblock printing - gained through demand for books and prints from the commercial market - the possibilities for commissioning *kyōka* books and *surimono* would not have existed. *Surimono* were perhaps partly produced at the same publishers as commercial prints, but there are indications that dedicated '*surimono* studios' existed. The flexibility of the process of printing from woodblocks allowed for bespoke productions of great refinement, provided the costs of expensive materials and specialized skilled labor were borne by those who commissioned *surimono*.

2.1.2 History of print in Japan

The history of printing in Japan goes back to the eighth century, when the technique of

woodblock printing arrived from the Asian mainland.[66] From this time onwards, religious texts were produced and reproduced at temples. As literacy spread from the clergy to samurai and townspeople and eventually throughout society in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the demand for affordable books steadily increased.[67] Commercial publishing emerged as an important and profitable trade, and production techniques advanced as a logical result.

The technique of woodblock printing was gradually and greatly refined during in the Edo period. Despite efforts to adopt movable-type printing in the early seventeenth century, Japanese commercial printing is characterized by a 'return' to the technique of cutting one woodblock for every sheet.[68] The various plausible reasons for this have been discussed by Smith and Kornicki.[69] Of greater importance here, are the results of this 'return' to block printing. First, the use of woodblocks instead of movable type characters offered the possibility to transmit the shapes of actual brush handwriting, adding to its acceptance as an alternative to manuscripts. Second, not being bound by a layout grid means being able to closely combine text and illustration - a feature extensively put to use in popular fiction, and also in *surimono* and *kyōkabon*. Furthermore, the technical development incurred by centuries of woodblock printing resulted in the advancement of color printing, which was done by using a separate block for (nearly) each color that was used. At first, only some three or four colors were used. This meant four or five blocks had to be cut respectively, being the number of colors plus the black index block.[70] Books featuring multi-color illustrations emerge from roughly the 1760s and by the 1770s, editions of quite stunning quality were already being published.[71]

Publication numbers increase almost continuously, and the latter half of the Edo period witnesses a rich market.[72] Books on all kinds of subjects could be acquired at the numerous bookshops in the three largest cities of Edo, Osaka and Kyoto, and in the provinces through itinerant booksellers.[73] Commercial printing ranged from religious literature to explicit erotic books, with - among many other things - a

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[66] Kornicki (2001) plots out the development of printed books in Japan in chapter four, pp. 112-168. The history of the Japanese book until the nineteenth century was extensively researched by Peter Kornicki. For the general remarks in the introduction to this section (3.1), I rely heavily on chapter four of Kornicki's standard work.
[67] Rubinger (2007), pp. 80-85.
[68] Febvre and Martin (1997), pp. 45-50, explain the situation in Europe, where woodblock printing emerged at the end of the fourteenth century, well before the "quite different technique" of printing from a metal movable type was adopted. Woodblocks were used for printing images, but were less useful for printing Western texts: "It is not surprising that the need for this kind of simple visual resource was felt long before the need for printed literary, theological and scientific texts, interest in which was restricted to a small group of clerics and scholars. Even if the reproduction of such texts had been as easy as that of block prints - and this was not the case - it would still have been natural and logical for the block print to precede the printed book. But in fact the technique of the wood-cut did not in any sense inspire printing, which was the result of a quite different technique." (p.46).
[69] Kornicki (2001); Smith (1994).
[70] Occasionally, when colored patches were far apart, one block could be used to print multiple colors. This saves costs, yet hinders the flexibility of the printing process.
[71] See for instance *Seirō bijin awase sugata kagami* 青楼美人合姿鏡 ('Mirror of the forms of fair women of the green houses') of 1776, illustrated by Katsukawa Shunshō 勝川春章 and Kitao Shigemasa 北尾重政, published by Tsutaya Jūzaburō and Yamazaki Kinbē 山崎金兵衛. As presented in Keyes (2006), pp. 94-99. (Translation of title by Keyes.)
[72] Kornicki (2001), p. 140.
[73] Rubinger (2007), p. 84.

variety of poetry books in between. Publishers' guilds were established, and trading agreements were made in order to make it more difficult for pirate editions to be printed and sold in other towns. These are all proof of the highly organized, flourishing book economy in the second half of the Edo period.

Kornicki notes that the practice of copying texts by hand remained common in Japan, despite the increasing volume of printed works. Manuscripts circulated among members of the cultural elite, and were often valued over printed works. Old writings by master calligraphers or influential scholars of earlier times were not always made available through printing, and copying a manuscript - or copying a copy of that - was the way to gain possession of these texts.[74]

Private publishing through a commercial system

Nonetheless, because of the relative ease with which text or illustrations could be transferred to a woodblock, and subsequently cut and printed, a more or less separate printing economy existed outside the commercial market. This not only applies to publications that could not be condoned by the censor, but also to publications that were simply not intended for commercial distribution, such as poetry anthologies issued by and for members of small-scale poetry groups. It is only the latter category I am concerned with here.

According to Nakano, books were privately published throughout the Edo period. The common term in Japanese is *shikaban* 私家版 'individual publications'. Nakano suggests that for most private publication projects, a system of subscription, called *nyūgin* 入銀, was used.[75] This meant that the responsibility for the production costs rested with the author or editor, instead of the publisher. After commercial publishing became the norm well into the Edo period, books published outside the influence of bookshops also started to show a certain degree of organization. The title pages or colophons[76] of these private publications often include the word *zōhan* 蔵版 ('keeper of the blocks'), either printed from the index block or stamped in red ink after printing.[77] Private publications range widely and include religious books, educational works, and privately selected poetry anthologies. Since this research concerns the social and cultural background of amateur poetry groups, it should not come as a surprise that many of the *kyōka* books treated are private publications.

Although the paragraph above focuses on book publishing, the division between commercially and privately published works is also applicable to woodblock prints. Popular prints depicting for instance actors, *yakushae* 役者絵, beauties, *bijinga* 美人画, or landscapes, *fūkeiga* 風景画, were mostly commercially published. In much the same way that commercially published books are recognized as such by the information regarding the publisher, *hanmoto* 版元, in their colophons, most commercially published prints

[74] Kornicki (2006).
[75] Nakano (1995), pp. 199-201.
[76] Colophons including the publisher's true name were made obligatory in 1722. See Forrer (1985), p. 73.
[77] According to Nakano (1995), pp. 196-199, the explicit mention of the fact that a book was printed as zōhan first surfaces in the Kyōho 享保 period (1716 - 1735).

can be recognized by the presence of a publisher's seal, obligatory from 1720. From 1791 or 1792 onwards, a censor seal, known as '*kiwame'in*' 極印, was incorporated in prints that passed government censorship.[78] Publisher's seals and censor seals can be very useful to determine the date and place of publication of such prints. Censor seals are never present on *surimono*; since they circulated outside the commercial market, the designs were not submitted for censorship.[79]

Many of *surimono* designers worked entirely outside the commercial circuit of *ukiyoe*. Only a handful of commercial prints designed by Shunman is known to exist.[80] Gakutei designed almost exclusively *surimono* and *kyōka* book illustrations; I know of only two commercially published prints of his hand.[81] One was published by Izumiya Ichibē 泉屋市兵衛 (n.d.) at the end of the 1810s, present in the collection of the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels, Belgium.[82] The other dates to 1838; a copy of this print is present in the collection of the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, The Netherlands.[83] Other examples of artists who designed fewer commercial works than *surimono* and (non-commercial) *kyōka* book illustrations include Ryūryūkyo Shinsai, Totoya Hokkei, Hōtei Gosei 抱亭五清 (before Gosei known as Hokuga 北鵞, c.1769-1835)[84], and Teisai Hokuba 蹄斎北馬 (1771-1844). Examples of artists who worked mainly on commercial prints, but also regularly received commissions for *surimono* include Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞 (1786-1865, known for his commercial actor prints and actor *surimono*), Keisai Eisen 渓斎英泉 (1791-1848, known for his commercial prints of over-the-top Yoshiwara beauties, who also appear in his *surimono*). It is quite likely that *surimono* designed by artists active in the commercial trade were also produced at the same facilities as where commercial prints were made,

[78] These seals were in use between c. 1791 and 1842. After that, seals changed, yet information with regard to inspection, publisher and date stayed (see for instance Kornicki (2001), chapter eight, and Davis (2007), p. 282-285.

[79] One series of prints by Totoya Hokkei deserves attention here: Kokin kyôka sen 古今狂歌撰, A Selection of *Kyōka*, Old and New. This was a series of commercially published prints, featuring poems by famous *kyōka* masters active in the previous 40 odd years. Hizo Ukiyoe Taikan 11 (1987) features three of these prints (nos. 106-108) from the collection of the Museo d'Arte Orientale Edoardo Chiossone, in Genoa, Italy, and mentions two others in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum. This series was published sometime during the Bunsei era by Nakamuraya Katsugorō, who may also have selected the poetry. This is one of the few examples of commercially published *kyōka* prints reminiscent of *surimono*, and the only example of a series. It should be noted that a series of landscapes including *kyōka* poems, designed by Utagawa Hiroshige 歌川広重 in the late 1830s, does exist. This series takes the 53 stations of the Tōkaidō 東海道, one of Hiroshige's specialties, as a theme. The series, issued around the end of the Tenpō era (1830-1844), was known as 佐野喜版東海道五十三次 ('The 53 stations of the Tōkaidō, in the Sano-Ki edition'), after its publisher Sanoya Kihē 佐野屋喜兵衛 (n.d.), but it is now commonly referred to as *Kyōkairi tōkaidō* 狂歌入り東海道 ('*Tōkaidō with* kyōka *inscribed on them*'). See Shiraishi (Ed.) (1988), p. 137.

[80] Carpenter (2004), p. 78, counts "a mere thirty or forty prints".

[81] Gakutei, it must be noted, did illustrate a number of commercially published non-*kyōka* books, but he designed far more illustrations for (private) *kyōka* publications.

[82] Inventory no. 1486 (coll. Michotte, published in Kozyreff (Ed. 1989), no. 748). The print – surmised to be part of a triptych – depicts Yang Guifei, imperial consort to emperor Xuanzong, who reigned over the Tang dynasty from 712-756, reading a volume of the military chronicles of Xuanzong.

[83] Inventory no. RV-3980-4.This is a landscape depicting the high-arching stone bridge at Tenpōzan 天保山, Osaka, crossing the river Aji 安治川. Publisher unknown.

[84] Tanaka (1986) researched Gosei's life and offers an overview of his life and work (p. 56).

although there is no data available to substantiate this.

Printing techniques offering possibilities for flexible production of *surimono*

The technique of woodblock printing was in fact very suitable for small-scale productions such as *surimono* commissions. No large production line was needed to take a design and make it into a finished print. Surely, creating prints with many colors required an investment in a comparatively large number of printing blocks and pigments, yet this did not require a large number of craftsmen - or women. Therefore, the technique as such was quite similar to that used for deluxe commercial prints, but production would not necessarily have to be carried out at a commercial publishing house. Some space to work, a skilled engraver and a skilled printer were basically all that was needed to take the design and calligraphy and rework that into a *surimono*.

Some *surimono* feature seals that indicate the involvement of private persons in the production of those prints. *Surimono* designed and/or produced by Kubo Shunman 窪俊満 (1757-1820) often feature the seal *shō sei* 尚製, combining the first character of his pen name Shōsadō 尚左堂 ("Studio of Honouring the Left"[85]) and the character *'sei'* 製, meaning 'manufactured'.[86] Another example of a poet and *surimono* producer, though not a designer himself, is Shūchōdō Monoyana 秋長堂物梁 (act. c. 1762-c.1838). His studio name, or *dōgō* 堂号, literally means 'Studio of the long autumn', and is said to refer to the large amount of work he had to do preparing all the *surimono* commissions for the upcoming New Year.[87] We have no exact data on *surimono* production studios, but it has been suggested that there was relatively much overlap between the various crafts within the production process, such as in the case of Tani Seikō 谷清好 (act. 1819-31), a block-cutter and printer working on many *surimono* from Osaka, which is found on *surimono* designed by various artists active in Osaka.[88]

2.1.3 *Surimono*'s place within the world of Japanese prints

Surimono in relation to _ukiyoe_

There are undeniable links between *surimono* and Japanese woodblock prints in general. There are also significant differences. I suggest comparisons on the basis of technique, style, themes treated and modes of dissemination. The outcome of this is that although *surimono* have always been treated as a subgenre of Japanese prints in general, several features set them apart from the bulk of prints produced over the years.

The matter of technique is quite easily dismissed: *surimono* are produced using the same techniques

[85] Translation of Shunman's pen name by Carpenter in (2004), p. 88. The name is said to allude to Shunman's left-handedness.
[86] According to Tanaka (1993 [3]), p. 4, Shunman is supposed to have divided different production tasks among skilled craftsmen he knew, resulting in high-quality *surimono* production.
[87] For an example of a *surimono* produced by Shūchōdō's studio, see for instance Forrer (2013), no. 25.
[88] See Keyes (2004), pp. 125-127, or Carpenter (2005), pp. 170-174. Examples of this seal can be found in Mirviss and Carpenter (1995), on no. 211, and McKee (2006), on nos. 49 and 61.

of woodblock printing used in Japanese prints in general. Surely, *surimono* are often printed on very fine paper, featuring the high-end techniques of blind-printing (*gauffrage*) and use of metallic pigments. Deluxe materials and techniques were, however, also used in other print genres. The more luxurious actor prints of the 1790s often feature a so-called 'mica' background - in fact ground mother-of-pearl, *kira* 雲母 - that gives much luster to the print. Erotic prints, *shunga* 春画 or *makurae* 枕絵, often feature metallic pigments such as brass or tin (commonly called *kingin* 金銀 - 'gold and silver' - in Japanese). Blind-printing, *karazuri* 空摺 (lit. 'empty printing'), is applied in various genres, even if the designs were printed on rather thin paper. The techniques as such used for *surimono* are no different from those in Japanese woodblock prints in general, yet *surimono* stand out for incorporating several of the more luxurious techniques simultaneously in one print.[89]

In terms of style, it is obvious that most of the *surimono* artists working in Edo had some kind of background in, or relation to one of the lineages distinguishable within the greater *ukiyoe* tradition.[90] The term *ukiyoe* has become nearly synonymous with Japanese prints, yet it specifies a style of drawing and painting, rather than a medium. The word *ukiyoe* is literally translated as 'images of the floating world', traditionally spelled *ukiyo-e* to point out to non-Japanese readers which part of the word signifies 'image'. The other part of the word, *ukiyo* - perhaps hardly requiring further explanation these days - derives from a Buddhist term that designated a transient world. One example of how this word was used in Edo vocabulary can be found in the novel *Ukiyo Monogatari* 浮世物語. This novel was written sometime after 1661 by Asai Ryōi 浅井了意 (d. 1691) and takes the '*ukiyo*' *demi-monde* as subject.[91] There, *ukiyo* is described as "the delightful uncertainties of life in a joyous age when people lived for the moment, merrily bobbing up and down on the tides of uncertainty like a gourd on the waves".[92] The illustrations depicting this world of leisurely townspeople in a bold, naturalistic style came to be known as *ukiyoe*. The heavy outlines of this style of drawing were well-suited to the medium of woodblock print, and *ukiyoe* became the predominant style in popular prints and books. With the exception of a small number of *surimono* in which European styles of drawing and painting were forcefully incorporated, most designs lean heavily on the style defined in commercial *ukiyoe* prints.

The origins of *surimono*

The origin of *surimono*, it is often said, is to be found in a fashion for having calendars printed for private distribution. Until 1872, Japan used the lunar calendar, *taiinreki* 太陰暦, which divided a year into twelve long and short months, *daishō* 大小, of 30 and 29 days respectively. By this method of calculation,

[89] It is quite common to find both *kingin* and *karazuri* in one *surimono*, however, *kira* is actually not frequently applied.
[90] Artists working in the Shijō style (*shijōha* 四条派), mainly operating in the Kamigata region, also designed *surimono*, although these constitute a minority.
[91] See also Miner et al.. (1985) p. 143.
[92] As translated by Keene (1976), p. 156.

one year was around eleven days shorter than necessary. Therefore, the calendar was corrected with occasional intercalary months, *urūzuki* 閏月, in order to stay synchronized with the seasons. This calendar required constant recalculations. For citizens, it meant a yearly need for remembering the division of months, the alternative being carrying around a 'calendar book', *koyomi no fumi* 暦本 or 暦書, which listed the division of months and provided information on yearly events, both those in nature and those decided by man.[93] According to Hasebe, at some point, people started devising ways of remembering the long and short months through certain expressions, poems, drawings, et cetera, and put these on paper. This is the origin of *daishō no surimono* 大小の摺物; prints that contained the division of long and short months, playfully hidden in a poem and/or illustration. Selling calendars or calendar books was a prerogative of the state, which is why a fashion of privately producing *daishō no surimono* and giving them out to friends and acquaintances developed, perhaps as early as the Jōkyō 貞享 period (1684-1688). These prints are now largely known as *egoyomi*, but this appears to be a word invented in the middle of the Meiji period (1968-1912), dixit Hasebe.[94]

Soon, *daishō no surimono* started featuring poetry, complementing the 'calendar-aspect'. *Haikai* poems were first to appear, and later, according to Hasebe, *kyōka* poems appeared from around Tenmei 4, 1784.[95] Hasebe provides one example, and in fact an album of *daishō surimono*, including many pieces from Tenmei 4 and 5 collected by Matsura Seizan 松浦静山 (1760-1841), former daimyo of Hirado domain living in Edo the second half of his life, shows that several of them contain *kyōka*.[96] Over the years, the illustrations on *daishō no surimono* - now frequently signed by the designer - became more extensive in an attempt to surpass the attractiveness of last year's print. Gradually, the calendar aspect became subordinate to the illustration and the *kyōka* poetry, and it is probably from this stage, during the second half of the 1790s, that we could speak of *kyōka surimono* 狂歌摺物.[97] Now, poets often had their (pen-)names printed next to the poems, and, gradually, the publication of New Year's prints clearly starts to show a larger degree of organization. Production of *kyōka surimono* was limited to single sheets of various formats and sizes until now, but along with the rising number of club members and the resulting level of organization came a development of *kyōka surimono* series in fixed formats, from 1799. A single sheet *surimono* carrying between one and five poems used to be sufficient for small poetry circles, but the increased popularity of exchanging *kyōka surimono* with members from other large *kyōka* clubs caused a demand for either larger prints, or larger sets.

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[93] Hasebe (1988), p. 18.
[94] Hasebe (1988), preface.
[95] Hasebe (1988), p. 142 and plate 28.
[96] Collection of Matsura Shiryō Hakubutsukan 松浦史料博物館, Matsura Historical Museum, Hirado, Japan, also mentioned by Kobayashi in Carpenter (Ed., 2005), p. 160, who counted three of these prints with *kyōka*. The albums are described in detail by Iwasaki Hitoshi (2010).
[97] McKee (2006), recognizes a "turning point" in 1797 [and the subsequent year], when "a significant number of *kyōka*-only works" were produced. Forrer (2013), pp. 13-14, provides an overview in which the period 1795-1800 is presented as moment when *kyōka surimono* came into their own (based on several examples designed by Shunman, Hokusai and "many amateurs" listed in the catalogue).

Haikai ichimaizuri in relation to *kyōka surimono*

Judging from the peak in publication numbers, the popularity of *kyōka*, in comparison to that of *haikai*, is really to be defined as a short-lived fashion. This is applicable to both prints and books. *Kyōka surimono* from Edo were issued in considerable quantities between the last two decades of the eighteenth century and the first four decades of the nineteenth century. *Haikai* prints were produced over a much longer period of time, from early in the eighteenth century almost up to the mid twentieth century.[98] This relation is comparable to the publication numbers of *kyōka* books versus *haikai* books, as shown in the graph in section 4.3.

With regard to style of design, very generally speaking, one could state that *haikai* prints feature a more subdued style, subtler coloring, and themes that reflect poetic feelings linked to seasonal changes. The illustrations are less conspicuous or flamboyant and leave more space for the poetry, both on the level of composition and that of content. McKee, who is one of few scholars outside Japan who study both *haikai* and *kyōka* prints[99], states that the relation between text and image is usually not as strong in *haikai* prints.[100] The above aspects should all be seen in the light of the nature of *kyōka* versus *haikai* poetry. *Haikai* poetry is often witty in ways similar to *kyōka*, but the latter genre is far more aimed at incorporating classical references, showing off wit and cultural or historic knowledge, a tendency that is reflected in the style of illustration in the commissioned prints.

2.2 *Surimono*: material qualities and main elements

Early western collectors of *surimono* marveled at their fine printing, recognizing the use of a very fine quality paper and luxurious pigments beyond those used in most *ukiyoe* prints. Indeed, the investments done in (metallic) pigments ensured the creation of refined textures. Furthermore, the occasional use of blind-printing in combination with the soft and thick paper resulted in graphic art that borders on a three-dimensional *objêt d'art*. Although *surimono* are usually linked to the world of *ukiyoe* prints, dissimilarities abound. Apart from the fact that many *surimono* designers were not active in the world of commercial *ukiyoe* prints, as mentioned above, there are many differences in style. An obvious compositional difference is the frequent occurrence of still-life in *surimono*. The cultural references made through visual patterns are often of a level of sophistication uncommon in *ukiyoe*. This is in part due to the poetic content of the prints and poetry together.

The images are complemented by printed poetry drafted in a fine hand, although it is typical that calligraphy on *surimono* is aimed at readability rather than reproduction of individual handwriting. Specific

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[98] McKee (2006), p. 35. Another interesting source on *haikai surimono* is an article by Moriyama (2013), which discusses *haikai surimono* commissions made by poets from the provinces.
[99] I study the world of *kyōka*, the networks and social background of the poets, and reinvention of classical literature, and therefore focus on *kyōka surimono* only, though the art historic ties to *haikai surimono* are undeniable. For instance, McKee (2006), p. 40-41, treats a *haikai surimono* designed by Kubo Shunman, proving that artists did not necessarily work exclusively for one or the other genre.
[100] McKee (2006), p. 41.

elements mentioned in the poetry are echoed in the images, with a subtlety that challenges the viewer/reader to recognize the links. This text-image relation in *surimono* is comparable to other genres in Japanese art, ranging from paintings, lacquer ware and motifs on porcelain, for instance, but also recognizable in certain other Japanese prints.

The main elements to be discussed here, are applicable to a large portion of *kyōka surimono* in general, though - naturally - not every element will feature in every *surimono* from every period. I am not concerned with specific early (*haikai*) *surimono* that contain text or image only, but with *surimono* of common (small to medium sized) formats made for *kyōka* poets or poetry groups, which form the bulk of the production, or at least of what is left for us to investigate now.[101] Furthermore, the elements presented here pertain to the period that the overall setup of *kyōka surimono* had stabilized, roughly between the 1790s and 1830s.

2.2.1 Material qualities

In comparison to most commercial prints, the majority of *kyōka surimono* are obviously produced using very fine materials. These include, to start with, soft, thick paper commonly identified as *hōshogami* 奉書紙.[102] Apart from the visually pleasing aspects of this paper, the thickness allowed for an effective use of blind-printing, achieved by powerfully rubbing the lightly moistened paper onto sharply-carved printing blocks that were not inked. The result of this technique, frequently applied in *surimono*, is a textured surface of certain elements of the illustration. This effect is best admired holding the print in a raking light which accentuates the shadows. The textures achieved through this method contribute to a more tactile experience of these graphic materials, and one could say that it gives these prints a third dimension, beyond two-dimensional graphic art.

As discussed above, colors were printed using generally the same pigments as were used in commercial prints. Different from commercial prints, many *surimono* feature the use of metallic pigments such as leaf gold and powdered brass and tin. These pigments were specifically used to highlight metal objects depicted, such as sword blades, axes, mirrors, bells, et cetera. In some cases, metallic pigments were used to print the poem, mostly against a black or very dark background, for instance positioned in the empty sky of nightly scenes. Printing in multiple colors of course required additional investment in both printing blocks en pigments, but it is to be expected that the metallic pigments were particularly costly.

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[101] It is not unthinkable that large, full-sheet *surimono* have a lower survival rate due to their impractical size for collectors, or perhaps due to the impermanent nature of their contents - since they regularly functioned as announcements for performances. Regardless, *surimono* of this format form a minority when compared to the small to medium-sized varieties.

[102] The term is often abbreviated to *hōsho*, which designates government orders that were traditionally written on this type of paper. A high-grade mulberry paper, originally made in Echizen province: see Barrett and Winifred (1983), pp. 227-229 and Asano, Fukushima and All Japan Handmade Washi Association (1991), p. 120.According to Kobayashi Fumiko in private correspondence (2017), another deluxe type of paper known as *danshi* 檀紙 was also sometimes used.

2.2.2 Sizes and formats

Surimono were printed on a variety of paper formats. In most cases, a sheet of the larger type of high grade paper, the *ōhirobōsho* 大広奉書, which measured approximately 58 x 44 cm, was cut once or twice horizontally, and once, twice or three times vertically, resulting in four, six, eight, nine or twelve sheets of decreasing size.[103] The relation of print formats to certain publishers, as discussed by Forrer, does not apply to the privately published *surimono*.[104] The choice for a certain format seems to have been made based on preference of the designer, but costs and number of poets involved must have also been factors of consequence. *Surimono* from the 1780s through 1800s were generally printed on smaller formats, such as the 'cut-into-nine' *kokonotsugiriban* 九切判, measuring roughly 13 x 18 to 14 x 19 cm. From the 1810s onwards, the almost square *shikishiban* 色紙判 became the favored format. A *shikishiban* was achieved by cutting the *ōhirobōsho* sheet once horizontally and twice vertically, resulting in six sheets of - theoretically - 22 x 19,3 cm. In practice, most *shikishiban surimono* measure around 21 cm in height and 18,5 cm in width. This is probably due to losses occurring in cutting and trimming, or due to slightly smaller full sheets to begin with.

The *shikishiban* format was both a practical and classicist choice. The word takes its root from the word *shikishi* 色紙 (literally 'color paper'), a squarish sheet of colored deluxe paper only slightly smaller in dimension than most *shikishiban surimono*. *Shikishi* were already in use from the Heian period; first as a vehicle for a poetic addition to paintings on folding screens or sliding doors, later independently for inscribing calligraphy, encompassing poems and (small) ink painting.[105] These sheets are often colored with overlapping wavy patterns, and sprinkled with flakes of gold or silver leaf. *Shikishi* therefore epitomize the tangible remains of the Japanese poetic tradition. Those inscribed by revered court poet Fujiwara Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241), for instance, have been highly prized throughout Japanese history. The *shikishiban* may have been a suitable print format for *surimono* in terms of spatial balance between poetry and image - to be discussed hereunder - the echo of poetic practice of earlier centuries certainly played a role in the popularity of this format from the 1810s onwards.[106]

2.2.3 Main elements and their functions

Illustrations

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[103] As far as I'm aware, the combination of two cuts horizontally and three vertically, resulting in 12 small sheets, does not occur in *surimono*, although *egoyomi* of rather small sizes were printed.
[104] Forrer (2004), pp. 171-205.
[105] Entry for *shikishi* on Japanese Art and Architecture Net Users System: http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/ (20120716) The *shikishi* is the square counterpart of the *tanzaku* 短冊, often translated as 'poem slip', an elongated slip of equally luxurious paper with similar coloring, measuring some 36 x 6 centimeters, usually used for poems only, that was popular in the Edo period.
[106] McKee (2008 [1]), pp. 444-445, suggests that the transition to the *shikishi* format "perhaps not coincidentally" coincided with [Yomo Utagaki] "Magao's attempt to completely rename the *kyōka* form, titling it *haikaika*, after the irregular *waka* of the Kokinshū" ("c. 1807-8").

In terms of surface area, the illustrations on *surimono* take up about half to two thirds of the print. The remainder of the surface area, then, being reserved for poems. In general, the illustrations are place in the (bottom) right, to be viewed first, before moving on to the poetry, which is placed in the (top) left. Illustrations range from relatively light compositions on an empty background - leaving plenty room for the poems, to *horror vacui*-style compositions that reserve only a specific portion of the composition open for the poetry. Among examples of the first sort are designs by Shunman and Shinsai, designers known for very full compositions are for instance Gakutei and Hokkei.

The illustration is usually signed by the artist, somewhere to the bottom of the composition, although the placement of the signature varies considerably. Sometimes, signatures are - like poems - cleverly incorporated into the design, for instance made part of illustrations on scrolls or folding screens within the composition of the *surimono*'s illustration. Unsigned *kyōka surimono* are quite uncommon. The signature serves the same general purpose of identifying the artists, just as it does in paintings or commercial prints. Of course, the signature of high-ranking artists allow the viewer/reader to further appreciate the economic and social capital that is connected to the production of a particular *surimono*, but this is a matter for discussion in later sections of this thesis.

Artists' signatures

Artists' signatures on *surimono* are sometimes preceded by indications of a commission made to them, such as *ōju* 應需 (also read *motome ni ōjite*), meaning 'on request'. Under, or partly over the signature, a seal is sometimes printed, or hand-stamped. Hand-stamping the seal may have been an indication of a final approval by the artist. A good example of *surimono* that are known with and without the hand-stamped are the prints in the series *Katsushika nijūshishō* 葛飾二十四将 ('*Twenty-Four Generals for the Katsushikaren*') by Gakutei.[107] The studio name Gakutei is printed, yet the personal artist's name Sadaoka is a hand-stamped with vermillion ink (*shuniku* 朱肉) from a seal. The keen observer will have noticed the difference, and appreciated the added personalized exclusivity of this feature.

Poems

The poems on *kyōka surimono* are usually written vertically and placed in the top half or top third of the print, and read from (top) right to (bottom) left. Due to constraints in height, the stanzas are broken off and continued on the next line, just to the left of the previous line, with an indentation to ease reading. Where possible, the stanzas are cut up according to meter, although this is not always consistently done. Poems are sometimes placed in the left third of the print when the illustration takes up the majority of the vertical space in the right of the print, and poems are then usually written as a single vertical line, with no breaks (as is also common in *kyōka* book pages without illustrations). These are the most common layout varieties, yet - as is to be expected from creative artists who designed *surimono* - poems are

[107] I discussed the entire series in Kok (2008).

sometimes cleverly incorporated into the design, showing up as an inscription on a scroll or folding screen that is illustrated. In *surimono* of the 1820s and later, poems are regularly placed in some form of cartouche, adorned with colored background patterns and/or decorated borders. The number of poems varies between one and some six or seven - depending also on print-format - although it is most common to encounter two or three poems on one print.

The position of the poems shows a high degree of hierarchal conscience. Prominent poets usually feature all the way to the left, which is therefore commonly referred to as the position of honor. Sometimes, the name of the poet in this position, or his[108] poem, is preceded by a small circular mark, the meaning of which has frequently been the object of speculation in the past. In *kyōka* books, this circular mark is used to indicate the *kyōka* masters who selected the poetry for that particular book, and were *hors concours*. It is likely that the meaning of the circular mark is the same in *surimono*, meaning in that case that the poet with the circle before his name selected the poems from - perhaps a number of - candidates submitted by the other poet or poets.[109] When contributing poets live outside Edo - presuming that the *surimono* was made there - their city of residence is sometimes included.[110] This is yet another practice that is similar to that in *kyōka* books.

Next to the poems is the poet's name, usually a pen name, it is highly uncommon to see a poet's true name on a print.[111] In most cases, the name is printed preceding the poem. On occasions, the poet's name is printed after the poem. When the poem is written in an unbroken vertical line, as described above, the poet's name is placed straight under the poem, after a small space. Again, this is congruent with the layout in pages without illustrations in *kyōka* books, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

The poems on *surimono* were not inscribed by hand, but printed from a wooden printing block in the same process as the rest of the print. The delicate, sometimes even slightly gradient, black and dark grey tones of the characters may seem to be aimed at evoking the image of a skillful inscription on a *shikishi*, as mentioned in section 2.2.2. The style of calligraphy, however, is aimed at readability, and not at reproducing a personal hand. Reasons for this no doubt lie in the function of *surimono* as works that were meant to be read - text and image - by many different persons. On a practical level, having every poet inscribe their poem within the right dimensions and adding these somehow to the design must have posed a graphic and logistic near-impossibility. Carpenter, who initially arrived at *surimono* out of his research on calligraphy, believes that only a handful of calligraphers were responsible for the majority of calligraphy on *surimono*.[112] Indeed, the handwriting of individual calligraphers seems to return on *surimono*

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[108] I have yet to encounter a female poet's name or poem that is preceded by a circular mark.
[109] The function of the circular mark in *kyōka* books will be further described in the corresponding section in chapter 4. The possibilities for clarification of details like these offer further arguments for including *kyōka* books in the study of practices surrounding *surimono*.
[110] On *surimono* produced in Osaka, a poet or designer is sometimes indicated as living in Edo. The meaning of the inclusion of the city of residence is further treated in section 4.4.
[111] More on the implications of using pen names in section 4.4.
[112] As suggested in conversation, Zürich, 2008. Carpenter wrote his doctoral dissertation on the courtly calligraphy of Fujiwara no Yukinari 藤原行成 (972-1028).

commissioned by the same poetry group, or designed by the same artist. The fact that calligraphy styles are so close to one another could also be seen as further proof of the aim for relative standardization and readability. The skill of the calligrapher is, to my knowledge, never acknowledged on *surimono* - as opposed to that of the artist, and also regularly the engraver or printer - which underlines the relative absence of the aim for individuality in this element. An exception to this general rule is the reproduction of the handwriting of famous poets and the kabuki star Ichikawa Danjūrō VII 七代目市川団十郎 (1791-1859), reproduced in *surimono* by Utagawa Toyokuni 歌川豊國 (1769-1825).[113]

As for incorporation of poetry during the design process, an album of sketches and printing proofs from the studio of Totoya Hokkei, kept in the Chiba City Museum of Art, provides evidence that the poems were inscribed on a printed proof of the line-block, in an apparent aim to achieve a balanced layout of the text.[114] Since the line-block for the illustration was already cut at this stage, and with the possibilities for printing the text in different tones than the line-block in mind, it seems logical that the (best-fitting, mistake-free) calligraphy was then transferred to a separate printing block, to be cut and added to the total set of blocks for a print. A misprint in the Blomhoff collection at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, The Netherlands, provides an example where the text was printed separately from the line-block (a *surimono* designed by Hokkei, see fig. 1), once upside-down, by an apparently negligent printer.

[113] See Forrer (2013), pp. 270-274, for the entire series of seven designs and details on the commission and execution of this series. The exception with regard to the reproduction of the individual hands is in part to be ascribed to the atypical commission for this series; the series was likely made on request of Ichikawa Danjūrō VII himself, or perhaps his fan club. Execution of the prints was closer to conventional actor prints than to the deluxe *surimono* of the day, according to Forrer.
[114] See for instance no. 2-2, 2-4, and the illustration at the top of page 223 in Kobayashi T. (Ed., 1995), vol. 10.

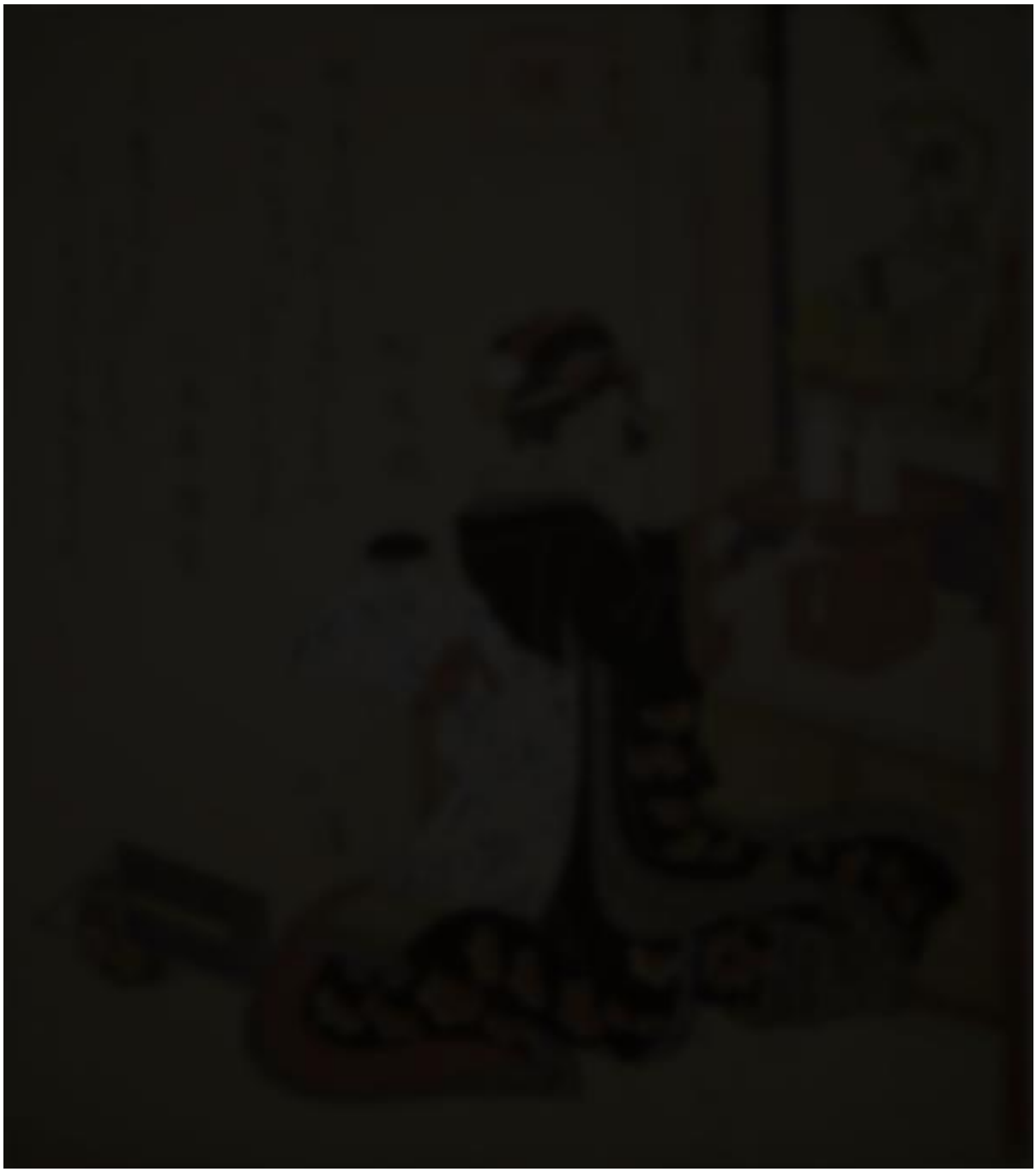

Fig. 1. Totoya Hokkei, *surimono* issued in c.1820, National Museum of Ethnology, inv. no. RV-360-2345r. The series is titled *Gokin no uchi* 五金之内 (‘*The five metals*’), print title *Suzu* 錫, ‘*Tin*’.

Group logos

Group logos, when included, are often hand-stamped. When *kyōka* groups commissioned *surimono*, in particular when it concerned series of prints, a group logo was often added. This practice is mostly seen from the 1810s and 1820s onwards, when *kyōka* groups and *surimono* projects reached their peak in terms of size. The logos take a variety of shapes.[115] Most logos are relatively simple stylized flowers or birds, or

[115] See for instance the overview given by Goslings (1987), pp. 9-12.

representations of objects such as fans, sometimes incorporating the club's name in writing. The more elaborate logos are sometimes akin to Chinese style artist's seals, squarish and filled with characters. Apart from identifying the group that issued a particular print or series or prints, logos again serve as proof of exclusivity, especially when hand-stamped.[116]

Series and print titles

Series titles and print titles are, not dissimilarly to commercial prints, regularly found on *surimono*. Print titles are often printed right after a series' title or logo, and combinations of these last two also occur. In other instances, they consist of a (hand-)stamped series' logo and a title printed from a key block (either the index block or the text block), simply written in characters, the same way that the poetry is written. In most cases, series titles and print titles are placed somewhere in the top right hand of the print. The function of the print title varies slightly from series to series. In some cases, the print title is basically a quote from a classical literary text that served as the series' inspiration, as in the case of the *Tosa nikki* series designed by Shunman, discussed in chapter five. Most of the time, however, the print title rather simply states the name of the person depicted, the name of the color or element in a 'series of colors/elements', the name of an object in a set, et cetera.

The exclusivity and overall sense of dedicated attention paid to a project is further enhanced when the group logo is supported by the series' title, in particular when the two are integrated. Series' titles identify the overarching theme. This is by no means new in *surimono*; in commercial prints, series' titles were printed in cartouches during most of the eighteenth century, although decorated cartouches only started to appear more frequently during the nineteenth century. Some *surimono* series' titles form part of a logo, sometimes combined with the name of the club. In this last case, a separate group logo was usually left out. As in commercial prints, series' titles in *surimono* often include a reference to the total number of prints in the series. The function of this feature may lie in the ease with which those who engaged in exchanging these prints could keep track of which part of a (larger) series they were dealing with. Otherwise, it may have functioned as a proud proclamation to other poetry groups, showing off the size of their project for that year. That hypothesis is in part supported by the competition that seems to be going on between *kyōka* groups in the 1820s, as is palpable from the yearly mounting numbers of *surimono* series, visible in appendix III, where *surimono* series are listed per club and per year.

Publishers' seals

I have noted previously that publisher's seals are absent in *surimono* for the fact that these prints were not produced commercially. There are, however, other seals - relating to production for instance - that can be found. Block-cutters or printers who lent their skill to a print are sometimes credited through the inclusion of their seal. On some cases, a seal of a '*surimono* production studio' features on *surimono* (see

[116] Facsimile editions of *surimono* - from re-cut blocks - can often be recognized as such through the incorporation of emblems in the printing block.

section 2.1.1). Usually, these seals are not hand-stamped, but rather incorporated into the printing blocks. Other seals one finds are those of latter-day collectors, in particular those from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As mentioned by McKee, this practice is now frowned upon, but was quite common at the time.[117] These collector seals may indeed intrude into the original work, they do allow for investigation of provenance.[118]

2.3 *Surimono* categorization: subjects and series

Subject matter in the illustrations in *surimono* varied enormously, from Yoshiwara beauties, actors, historic and/or legendary figures, to landscapes, birds and flowers (*kachō* 花鳥), (shell)fish, et cetera, et cetera. Where subject matter was also treated in commercial prints, styles of depiction tended to show a degree of overlap. This is true in particular for artists who were active in both commercial prints and *surimono* design. For instance, actor *surimono*, such as those by Utagawa Kunisada, are closely related to his commercial actor prints.

On the other hand, many *surimono* illustrations depict subjects outside the usual scope seen in commercial *ukiyoe* prints. Typical to *surimono*, as I have mentioned before, are still-lifes. The depiction of inanimate objects was uncommon in commercial prints, yet very suitable for *surimono* illustrations, since this often allows for an easier connection to the content of the poetry. Depicting an object or set of objects outside the pictorial traditions of commercial prints or other accessible art forms demanded a certain degree of artistic independence on the part of the artist. This does not necessarily mean that *surimono* artists who drew still-lifes operated outside the *ukiyoe* style, rather that they worked outside the established subject matter, and therefore outside pictorial traditions. It is no surprise that still-life *surimono* were often designed by artists who operated largely outside the commercial circuit, such as mentioned in section 3.1.

2.3.1 Categorization according to research objective

Scholarly efforts to categorize *surimono* of recent decades have always been influenced by objectives of the publication or its author(s). Major catalogues of *surimono* often list the works according to designer, however arbitrary the sequence becomes in alphabetic rendering of the Japanese artists' names - considering also the fact that most artists were known by multiple names. An art-historic approach - with an emphasis on development - would lead to sorting *surimono* by artistic school or lineage. Due to the non-commercial and overall less-regulated nature of *surimono*, this would be far more difficult than for commercial prints. Despite the complex nature of *surimono* as research material, even scholarly publications often simply categorize *surimono* chronologically, or - in connection to that - according to paper format.

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[117] McKee (2006), p. 63.

[118] Forrer (1983) has compiled a list of collector's seals, aiding collectors in tracing the provenance of the prints they own or wish to buy.

Those catalogues that do take a more analytical stance tend to sort the prints by subject or iconographic theme. Bowie et. al. arrange the works in their catalogue in "categories suggested by their general subject matter", and then subdivide them chronologically where possible. The result is "Egoyomi or calendar prints; Saitan and other surimonos pertaining to seasonal festive occasions; Literary and legendary subjects; Moral edification; Interest in nature; Private motivations: name change and elegies; Satire and fun".[119] The downside of such a division, when strictly applied, is that series can theoretically be split up and divided over separate categories. McKee, too, loosely divides the *surimono* in *shikishiban* format in the Schoff collection exhibition catalogue according to the subjects depicted and arrives at: "Still-life and festival floats; Nature and landscapes; Beautiful women and domestic subjects; Legendary, Historical, and warrior subjects; and Kabuki drama".[120] This last category is the addition that most obviously breaks away from the categories already suggested by Bowie et. al. It is actually strange that this theatre category is absent in the catalogue by Bowie et. al., since it contains many of what are currently often called 'actor *surimono'*, illustrated in both the introductory section and the separate section "*Surimono* and the Kabuki Theatre".[121] The purposely selected still-life *surimono* in the exhibition/sales catalogue of Galerie J. Ostier, are divided according to certain objects depicted in their illustrations.[122] Divisions like these are of course made with a predefined selection of prints in mind. No matter how much effort was done to make a representative selection from within a collection, the division according to subject or iconographic theme remains somewhat arbitrary.

The two main research themes in this thesis, social networks and reception of classical literature, demand different categorizations altogether. First of all, understanding social networks through *surimono* requires a categorization of *surimono* according to their displays of group affiliation, social connections. Second, understanding the ways in which literary history was incorporated into *surimono* requires dividing them according to themes, and - more specifically - the class and provenance of literary works they are based on, and their treatment of these literary sources in word and/or image. In both cases, period of publication is of obvious importance, since both the degree of organization of *kyōka* groups, and the contemporary appreciation and scholarship of classical literature vary over time. Another criteria that I take into account in general is the place of publication - in this case focusing on Edo as center of the *kyōka* vogue of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century - since *surimono* issued in different cities provide different information with regard to networks, and perhaps also to traditions in reception of literature.

2.3.2 *kyōka* poetry networks of Edo: (large) *surimono* issued by groups or in series

The affiliations between *kyōka* poets featuring on *surimono* are most obvious from works that were

[119] Bowie et al. (1979), p. 45.
[120] McKee (2006), pp. 34-183. The non-shikishiban formats encompass *haikai surimono*, *egoyomi* and "*Kyōka Surimono* in Miniature Formats".
[121] Bowie et al. (1979), pp. 7-23 and pp. 98-147, respectively.
[122] Ostier et al. (1978)

issued by groups rather than individual poets. Large *surimono* listing multiple poets who were apparently connected to a certain poetry master provide data on affiliations at a certain point in time. Series of *surimono*, issued by one group and/or for one occasion, also reveal data with regard to poetry networks. The Bunka and Bunsei eras show a sharp rise in *surimono* issued in series by poetry groups, instead of single sheets issued by one, two or three individual poets.[123] Titled *surimono* series range between simply a pair of prints, up to as much as 36 prints.[124] Appendix III shows an overview of *surimono* series in the years 1797-1835. The combination of poets featuring in such series reveals social connections. Both for large *surimono* and *surimono* series, social connections between poets are identifiable, yet the connection between certain poets or group and artists is also of importance.

The reasons for the development of *surimono* series deserve some attention here. As mentioned above, increasing membership numbers of *kyōka* groups meant a necessity for more space to print poems. Steadier finances, generated by enthusiastic followers of the genre during a period of economic flowering, were probably an important factor that allowed poetry groups to publish the output of their members in larger projects. Single sheets of small formats could only hold so many poems, and the development of large *surimono* - printed on a full and uncut sheet of paper - must in part have resulted from the need to list more poets.[125] Kobayashi discusses the reasons for poetry groups to choose for a bound *kyōka* album or a series of *surimono* in the early nineteenth century. Her main argument is that *surimono* series provided a flexible and effective alternative to albums and large *surimono*, from a practical production point of view. I would argue that *surimono* series had further advantages over albums or large print formats in that the quality of printing could be elevated even higher in relatively small prints, since these could be made from thicker paper than could be bound into books or albums. Furthermore, a series of loose prints allowed for a more focused production, which may have accommodated individual preferences within a group, i.e.

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[123] Valuable data on *surimono* issued in series is presented by Goslings (2002) in an unpublished manuscript. From this manuscript, the increase in publication numbers of *surimono* in series can be clearly noticed around the year 1805. As I have noted in chapter one, Kobayashi, F. (2005) gives the year 1804 as turning point (specifically because *kyōka* anthologies were published in far lesser numbers, perhaps – as she argues – due to "regulations forbidding colour printing books" being implemented from the fifth month of 1804 (p. 173)). Forrer (2013) gives the period 1805-1810 as the first in which *surimono* were "often issued in titled series" (p. 14).

[124] An example of a series of only two prints is *Tsurukame niban* 鶴亀二番 ('*Crane and tortoise, a set of two*'), by Gakutei for the Yomogawa, 1819. Examples of series of 36 prints are *Kasen awase* 歌仙合 ('*A matching game of the immortals of poetry*' [each of the designs taking a different species of shell as subject]), designed by Ryūryūkyo Shinsai for the Yomogawa poetry group for the year 1809, and *Genroku kasen kai awase* 元禄歌仙貝合 ('*Shell-matching game with poets from the Genroku period*'), designed by Katsushika Hokusai for the Yomogawa for the year 1821. Hokusai also designed an untitled set of some 55 prints on the subject of the Tōkaidō coastal highway, which was issued in 1804 for an unspecified number of groups related to the Asakusagawa poetry group. Around eight of the original designs were issued in a format twice as wide (c. 13 x 37 cm) as the rest of the series, later to be replaced by designs on the regular format (c. 12 x 17 cm) by Hokusai's pupil and son-in-law Yanagawa Shigenobu 柳川重信 (1787?-1833). Examples, of both the edition with the original poetry in place and the more commonly encountered later edition with the poems omitted, to be found in the collections of the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, under inventory nos. 3654-34 and 3654-35 (with poems in place) and more or less complete sets under nos. 1-4476-1~55, 360-4591~4619, 1353-503~538 (without poems).

[125] Early large *surimono* also often feature invitations to (musical) performances, not necessarily held around New Year, that do not list poems or poets. See for instance Keyes (2005), p. 221-224.

producing higher numbers of prints that included more important or more popular poets or poets that had perhaps contributed a larger sum to the overall project. There are other reasons imaginable for the popularity of *surimono* series as a publication means over albums. Separate prints allowed for a more exclusive exchange between individual poets, which was less personal with albums, books or large sheets that contained the poetry of so many fellow poets. Furthermore, one would think that separate sheets of the highest quality would likely find their way to other groups and poets, perhaps throughout the nation, more easily, impressing rivals and attracting new members. Whatever may be the case, *surimono* series give an insight into the affiliations of poets to the various groups, and their connections to certain artists, and will be taken into account in chapter five, where *kyōka* networks are discussed.

Surimono from Edo

This thesis is concerned with networks of individuals on the forefront of a popular movement in early modern culture, and it is therefore that I concentrate on the center of this current, which was the city of Edo. Here, the pivotal figures of the *kyōka* society held most *kyōka* meetings and the majority of *kyōka surimono* were issued by their clubs. Due to the nature of the peaking popularity, the *kyōka surimono* made in Edo are generally most exorbitant. This does not mean that *surimono* from Osaka, where *kyōka* was also a very popular pastime, are any less intricate. Nonetheless, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the *kyōka* clubs in Edo were largest and most stable. Edo was the 'center of *kyōka*' from which the *kyōka* masters would incidentally travel to other areas and the center to which *kyōka* enthusiasts would travel to pick up on the latest trends, instead of the other way around. The fact that Edo was the center of popularity has forced me to limit the research materials of Edo only, although once again, it must be mentioned that other cities where *kyōka* was popular also saw a considerable amount of *kyōka surimono* publications, as can for instance be seen in the section on Osaka *surimono* provided by Keyes.[126] When applicable, *surimono* from outside Edo are taken into account, in order to elucidate the position of the *kyōka* groups in Edo.

2.3.3 *Surimono* incorporating classical literature

For the research theme of reception of literary history in *surimono*, a categorization would be aimed primarily at dividing *surimono* into those incorporating classical literary works and those that do not. The distinction is not always entirely clear, and any attempt at being strict about the extent to which classical literary has formed the main inspiration for a print or print series would only result in complications. A number of series is undeniably based directly on classical literary themes. These can often be clearly identified by series titles or logos that include the (chapter) title of well-known Japanese literary classics, such as *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語), *The Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語), *The Pillow Book* (*Makura no sōshi* 枕草子; tenth-eleventh century), et cetera. In line with the puzzle-aspect of

[126] Keyes (1985).

surimono, literary allusions are hidden in many other prints - single sheets usually in this case. Sometimes, it is only after discovering a specific word in the poetry that the link to a work of classical literature can be established with certainty. This type of *surimono* featuring literary inspiration should also be taken into account when investigating the treatment of classical literature in the *kyōka* society in general. In this thesis, however, I will focus on *surimono* series that evidently revolve around a certain work of classical literature, which allows for an investigation of the reception history of that particular literary work and the position of the *surimono* series within that reception history.

Chapter 3: *Kyōka* books: definition and categorization

3.1 *Kyōkabon*: history and development

3.1.1 Not publishing *kyōka*

The status of *kyōka* as pastime

Composing *kyōka* only became a serious endeavor in Edo after it started to generate status and money. This was from around the Tenmei period, in Edo. Before that, *kyōka* were composed with other intentions. Composing *kyōka* primarily functioned as a playful pastime for *waka* poets. This was true for the *waka* poet and teacher Uchiyama Gatei 内山賀邸 (1723-1788, real name Naotoki 淳時, pen names a.o. Chinken 椿軒 and Denzō 伝蔵), who taught future *kyōka* pioneers Ōta Nanpo (*kyōka* names Yomo no Akara 四方赤良 and Shokusanjin 蜀山人, 1749-1823), Akera Kankō 朱楽菅江 (1738-1798) and Karagoromo Kisshū. It was also true for the *kyōka* poets active in the Kamigata region earlier in the Edo period. Playing with poetry could be considered the ultimate way of enjoying the freedom in practicing an otherwise serious art form. It also has a function in the process of training, as it allows the practitioner to overstep boundaries - of literary conventions, decorum, and etiquette - in place on official occasions.

Writing down and printing what was intended to be thrown away

Recording a poem by noting it on a piece of paper, writing it down in a diary, or inscribing it on a *tanzaku* 短冊 (oblong poem card) gives a certain value to it. The poem begets a status that is above that of an exercise poem that is only recited orally. *Kyōka*, as poems that discard the rules that are in place for earnest poetry, were initially not intended to be written down. Playful treatment of poetry can, however, result in poems of a certain merit - for their humorous qualities, eloquent critique of literature or society, or for whatever other reason - that deserve to be recorded. Suga, in his opening chapter on the theory of *kyōka* history, claims that all Japanese arts evolved from play ("*yūgi* 遊戯"), and it seems that *kyōka* has indeed followed along these lines.

Composing *kyōka*: for what audience?

The question that arises with regard to poets writing down their *kyōka*, is with what audience in mind they record their poems. This question should apply to all *kyōka* materials if we aim to understand the context of these materials. *Kyōka* poets of different periods and places would have had different audiences in mind. One can imagine that a joyful get-together with like-minded poets that resulted in a poem that struck those present as of a quality worth remembering at a later moment, this prompted someone to note it down. In such a case, the intended audience is probably no wider than one or more of those present. This changes when the recorded poem gets circulated. The stance of the poet in his or her compositions likely changes if the possibility of later circulation is accepted beforehand. The *kyōka* poets of the early nineteenth century aimed at being included in publications by their poetry group and would

have adapted their stance accordingly.

3.1.2 Is writing down *kyōka* to be considered publishing?

Definition of 'publishing' *kyōka*

Considering the word publication in the strict sense of 'communicating information to the public', *kyōka* were published in a variety of ways. The question in every case is what 'the public' is. If public simply means anyone other than oneself, *kyōka* were published as soon as they were written down and made available to others. Inscribing a *kyōka* on a poem card and giving that away to a friend would mean that - in theory at least - it could reach a larger audience. The circulation of early Edo period manuscripts among the relatively few Kamigata *kyōka* poets must have been quite different in range than that of commercially published printed anthologies during the heyday of *kyōka* in Edo.[127] Whatever the setting, the major difference is whether the poet himself or herself intended to allow poems to remain within a confined social circle, or to be known to anyone who was interested. I consider this shift from private spheres to larger audiences to define the onset of 'publishing *kyōka*'. For the case of Edo, this shift occurred around the end of the Meiwa period, and it is the evolution of *kyōka* publications after this shift that I investigate.

Manuscripts and printed books

The means for dissemination, whether in manuscript form or as a printed book, brought about a difference in circulation patterns. Generally speaking, printed books could be distributed to an audience outside that of acquaintances more easily, whereas the distribution of manuscripts would usually require some sort of social relation. The simple, yet most influential reason for this is the fact that books being published in printed form were produced more or less at one point in time, instead of being lent out to be copied one by one. Printed editions typically went through the facilities of a printing house, which in turn meant that distribution started in that physical place. This does not mean that all printed *kyōka* books were sold from that same place of production, although this was usually the case with commercial editions. In the case of privately commissioned publications, the produced batch of books would probably go to a member of the *kyōka* group involved (see next section), who then took responsibility for further distribution.

Furthermore, the planning stage of a manuscript book and a printed book differ in that the

[127] Kornicki (2006) has pointed out that manuscripts continued to circulate alongside printed publications during the Edo period, for a variety of reasons. Most of these reasons concern texts being unfit for publication in print due to subversive or "secret" contents. The foremost example of an early *kyōka* book circulating as a manuscript in various forms is the anthology commonly known as Yūchōrō hyakushu 雄長老百首, compiled by Yūchōrō (1547-1602, also known as Eiho Yōyū 英甫永雄) and said to have been first issued in 1589 (see for instance Waseda University "Japanese & Chinese classics" collection no. 18 01030). Although manuscripts certainly made up a smaller percentage than printed *kyōka* books during the years of greater popularity, some *kyōka* books still circulated in manuscript form, even alongside printed editions. An example is Ōta Nanpo's *Manzai kyōkashū* 万載狂歌集 ('*Kyōka collection of ten thousand years*'), of which the printed edition was published in 1783.

printed book requires negotiation over production parameters. Manuscripts allow considerable flexibility with regard to number of pages, later additions, and impromptu inclusion of illustrations even. Planning a publication in printed form requires a far more stringent planning beforehand, decisions on the number of pages and illustrations, format, the number of copies in an edition, costs and expected financial gain. This in turn has an effect on the contents of the book. It influences how the selection of poems is done in terms of quantities, to start with. The decision whether to include a certain number of illustrations also influences the parameters of the poetry selection and setup of the contents.

Distance between poet and audience

Once the fruits of *kyōka* composition were recorded and allowed to be distributed by whatever means, the poets in question engaged in a communication with their readers. The fact that *kyōka* were published at all implies that a readership existed outside immediate friends and acquaintances, or was expected to exist. The intention of publishing these poems, then, was to circulate the *kyōka* poetry among interested readers, who may be found in corners of society that poets were not in touch with without the book as means of communication. The reaction of the market, especially in Edo from the Tenmei period onwards, can be seen as an answer in the same poet-audience communication, the direction in this case being from audience to poet.

Let us take the example of early Tenmei *kyōka* poets. Over the course of only several years, their poems left the enclosed spheres of practice sessions with their *waka* teachers or private parties, and evolved into well-marketed commercial *kyōka* publications. Despite a much larger - and apparently very enthusiastic - readership, the distance between poet and audience grew wider. Readers were no longer acquaintances, in the first or second degree, but possibly individuals in every corner of society. Changes in social distance to the reader, added perhaps by a change in geographical distance, will inevitably have resulted in an overall sense of distance on the part of the poet. Consequently, the move towards the general public will have resulted, consciously or unconsciously, in a level of constraint in comparison to the freedom felt in the more intimate settings of earlier years.

3.1.3 Publishing *kyōka* books privately

Privately published books and their intended audiences

The sense of distance from readers was arguably less strong in the case of a privately published *kyōka* book. To avoid misunderstandings, it is necessary to clarify that privately publishing in the case of *kyōka* books typically meant commissions made by an organized group of poets, rather than a single individual - although this also occurred. Private publications, even if in printed form, were circulated initially among the members of the issuing group. Distribution outside the commercial market ensured a certain level of exclusivity. Of course, individual members could later show, lend or give these books to friends and acquaintances, thereby widening the readership. Nonetheless, poets contributing to such publications, and poetry selectors editing these books, could submit their work with the intended audience of group members in mind - not anonymous buyers at book shops.

Organization of multi-poet events

The term 'privately published' may seem to imply small-scale projects, but this should not be underestimated. The large numbers of poets featuring in privately published *kyōka* books of the 1820s and 1830s attest to the fact that these publications were the outcome of well-organized activities undertaken by poetry groups that operated on a grand scale. What had started as parties for 'poetry without rules' had gradually turned into a rather formalized society. Printed announcements of *kyōka* competitions and the planned publication to be resulting from it evince a nationwide network with many contributing poets. It is clear from these materials, treated in-depth in chapter five, that the level of organization around the 1830s was very high. There were fixed prices for entry into each competition, pointing to a careful financial planning. The costs of a private publication commissioned by a *kyōka* group were likely carefully calculated as well. The fact that the book was not published commercially is by no means an indication that the book did not circulate widely. The scope of circulation was, however, to a certain degree limited to members of the same (large) poetry group.

3.1.4 Publishing *kyōka* books commercially

Marketability of *kyōka*

Money could be made from selling *kyōka* books on the Edo book market.[128] That prospect prompted Tsutaya Jūzaburō to produce *kyōka* books from the early Tenmei period onwards. Other publishers would soon follow. The popularity of *kyōka* among a select group of enthusiasts famously spread to the general public. Whether the market was ready for *kyōka* and commercial publications followed, or the situation was the other way around is beyond the scope of this thesis. The fact remains that the popularity of *kyōka* had reached a point when there was a market demand. Publishers supplied books for enthusiasts, whether they were members of a *kyōka* group or not.

Publication process

The main objective of financial gain is what makes commercial *kyōka* publications less complex than most private publications in terms of publication process. The planning was all conducted by a publisher and not a group of people. The publisher had to sense the market demand, make calculations, approach a master *kyōka* poet whose name would ensure steady sales, and contact an illustrator that he successfully worked with on previous publications. The initiative lay with the publisher - or perhaps initially with a certain *kyōka* master on occasions - yet the practicalities and logistics of the publication are the responsibility of the publisher. In the Edo period book trade, it was common for a publishing house to carry out the various aspects and tasks of publishing, both in terms of planning and production. Apart from layout and design, cutting of the wooden printing blocks, printing, binding and also distribution,

[128] As I do with *surimono*, I focus on the *kyōka* books published in the city of Edo.

were usually all undertaken by the same firm. For a publisher, therefore, it was relatively easy to judge whether the publication of a *kyōka* book was economically viable.

The boundaries of the commercial publication process usually lead to *kyōka* books that were edited or selected by a single *kyōka* poetry master and illustrated by a single artist. This is a logical outcome of the circumstance that costs have to be kept low and every book needs good selling points. The name of a popular *kyōka* poetry master could be a selling point, or the reputation of the illustrator. Another selling point could be the practicality of the book, which could, for instance, serve as a guide for amateur *kyōka* poets.[129] Whichever was the case, it was in the publisher's interest to limit the number of paid contributors involved in the publication. A single *kyōka* master - at the request of a publisher - could compile an anthology of major poems by various poets, such as ***Azumaburi kyōka bunko*** 吾妻曲狂歌文庫 (‘*An archive of kyōka from the Eastern Capital*’) of 1786, and *Kokon kyōka bukuro* 古今狂歌袋 (‘*A bag of kyōka, old and new*’) of the next year.[130] The selection for both these two books was done by Yadoya no Meshimori 宿屋飯盛 (1753-1830, common name Ishikawa Masamochi 石川雅望, later known as Rokujuen 六樹園), and the illustrations were done by Kitao Masanobu 北尾政演 (1761-1816, also famous as a prolific writer of light fiction, mainly *kibyōshi* and *gōkan* 合巻 (serial novels), under the name Santō Kyōden 山東京伝[131]). Another option was a book that offered information on how to write better *kyōka* for enthusiasts, such as the guide *Kyōka hama no kisago* 狂歌濱のきさご (*'Kyōka Shells on the Beach'*) of 1783, written by Moto no Mokuami 元木網 (1724-1811). The three examples mentioned here were all published by Tsutaya Jūzaburō, and will be further discussed in section 3.3.4.[132]

Finance

Commercial publications are not always completely planned and financed by commercial publishers. Patterns in the publication history of certain *kyōka* books reveal a creative connection between publishers and *kyōka* groups, where the costs were ostensibly divided between parties. Not all *kyōka* books were as easily marketable as those mentioned above. Compilations of poems by one *kyōka* group would always maintain a sort of in-crowd-feel, which may have been considered unsuitable for wide dissemination. On the other hand, there was always a market for well-executed publications with fine illustrations and poetry to match. Some publications that were issued privately were later reissued by commercial publishers. Especially when the commercial publisher was involved in the initial production of the book and later reissued it, it seems logical that he was also involved in the planning and initial financing of the publication. In these cases, we can speak of private publications with optional future

[129] See section 3.3.4 on *kyōka* information books.
[130]These *kyōka* anthologies will receive further treatment in section 3.3.2.
[131] According to the information in the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese books database of the National Institute of Japanese Literature, he has either written or illustrated almost 500 books during his lifetime.
[132]*Kyōka hama no kisago* was published together with publishers from Osaka and Kyoto, see Edokyōkabonsenshū kankōkai (2007), p. 4.

marketability, or even semi-commercial publications. There are different possible scenarios for the earning model. A definitive calculation or evidence for a certain division of costs and profit can probably never be given. The publication patterns of the three examples hereunder do, however, illustrate the publication strategies for different books, and allow at least some informed conjecture.

The *kyōka* book *Ehon sumidagawa ryōgan ichiran* 絵本隅田両岸一覧 ('*Picture book of both banks of the River Sumida, in one view*') serves as an example of a private publication executed by a commercial publisher.[133] The book, fully illustrated by Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760-1849), was published by Tsuruya Kiemon 鶴屋喜右衛門 (n.d.), a commercial publisher operating under the firm name Senkakudō 仙鶴堂 located at the street Tōriaburachō 通油町 in Edo.[134] The original publication does not feature a colophon. The name of the publisher is, however, found in the preface and on the illustrated, color-printed wrapper for this book.[135] This collection of *kyōka* in deluxe edition, published circa 1801-1803, seems to have been a commission by Kojūrō Nariyasu 壷十楼成安 and his (apparently modestly-sized) poetry circle. Judging from the character 壷 *ko* (jar, *kun* reading *tsubo*), he was likely a member of the Tsubogawa, or 'Jar poetry group', an alternative name of the Asakusagawa 浅草側 (Asakusa [district] poetry group) headed by Sensōan Ichindo 浅草庵市人 (1755-1821[136], also known as Tsubotsubo Chinjin 壷々陳人, also written 壺々陳人). The hypothesis that Nariyasu was member of this Jar poetry group is further supported by the fact that the first of the two seals under the written name Kojūrō Nariyasu has the shape of a stylized jar, such as was also used in *surimono* issued by the Asakusagawa poetry group. Furthermore, Hokusai had previously illustrated several deluxe *kyōka* books and also *surimono* for the Asakusagawa, which makes the connection all the more plausible.[137]

In the preface to this book, Nariyasu explains that Hokusai had drawn these wonderful illustrations, and that Master Senkakudō came to ask him and his fellow poets for appropriate poems. This implies that Tsuruya only needed some poems to enliven an illustrated book that was already planned for (commercial) publication. Yet, the absence of a colophon and the overall nature of the publication, compared also to previous *kyōka* books of similar setup issued by Sensōan and his group, point to a private initiative. In any case, if this publication was an entirely privately commissioned publication, the content of the preface is very odd, and if the book was sold in Tsuruya's shop, the absence of a colophon is equally odd. A likely explanation is that the investment for the production for this book was shared

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133 The entire book is reproduced, with translations (into French) of the preface and all poems, in Forrer and Kok (2012).

134 Tsutaya Jūzaburō's publishing firm Kōshodō was also located here.

135 The publisher is mentioned in the preface as "*Senkakudō no aruji* 仙鶴堂のあるし (the master of the Senkakudō [publishing house])"; The wrapper says "Tsuruya Kiemon han 鶴屋喜右衛門版" (published by Tsuruya Kiemon). A copy of this wrapper is kept in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Accession number 11.20405).

136 According to Suga (1936/I), p. 320, Asakusaan died on the 25th day of the 12th month of Bunsei 3, which corresponds with late January 1821.

137 See Forrer (Ed., 1982). The connection to the Asakusagawa is also discussed by Kubota in Carpenter (Ed., 2005), pp. 187-190.

between the publisher and the poetry group. There is no hard evidence to support this theory, yet it would seem very unlikely for a poetry group to take the initiative to publish a deluxe the publication and then state the complete opposite in the preface, while it is highly unlikely that a publisher running a market-driven operation like Senkakudō would aid in the production of one of the finest illustrated books on sale at the time, and then ignore the opportunity to procure some extra income from direct sales to customers outside the collaborating poetry group. Even if the publication was indeed an entirely commercial endeavor from the outset, it was unlikely that Nariyasu's poetry group were just lucky to be asked to contribute poems to this luxurious publication, whereas they would normally have to pay a considerable sum if they wished to have their poetry published in such a way, either in the form of a color-printed illustrated book or a set of *surimono*, for instance.[138]

A more clear-cut example of a deluxe illustrated poetry book that was reissued for commercial gain is *Tatsu no miyatsuko* 龍の宮津子 ('*The guards of the dragon king's palace*'), a *haikai* book illustrated by Kuwagata Keisai 鍬形蕙斎 (1764-1824, alternatively known as Kitao Masayoshi 北尾政美) and published in 1802. While it is not a *kyōka* book, there are some striking similarities with *Ehon sumidagawa ryōgan ichiran* in terms of publication setup. The book features illustrations a selection of sea-dwelling and river-dwelling creatures, ranging from tiny shells to a giant whale. The illustrations are printed with great care, in multiple colors, and the skins of many of the fishes are given extra luster through the application of a coat of ground mother-of-pearl, made to stick using a type of glue. Above the illustrations, space is left open for 17-syllable *haikai* poems.[139] The preface was written by the poet Tani Sogai 谷素外 (1733-1823) of Kanda, Edo, who apparently made the selection, and follows a 'storyline' almost identical to that of Nariyasu's preface. It starts out by praising the designs by - in this case - Masayoshi, and continues to describe how publisher Shinshōdō (Suharaya Ichibē, n.d.) came forward with the request to add poems by members from his poetry circle to the illustrations. The short text even ends with a clarification of the choice for the title, which Sogai states he himself has provided.

In terms of publication pattern, two major differences with *Ehon sumidagawa ryōgan ichiran* are, first, the fact that the first edition did include a colophon, and second, the fact that several later editions - clearly cheaper reissues aimed at the general buying audience - are known. In this case, the colophon seems to support the claim that the publisher planned this (commercial) publication and asked Sogai for poems. Given the fact that poetry groups spent considerable amounts on publication of their poetry in the form of luxurious books and prints, it again seems unlikely that Sogai's poetry group had such fortune that a commercial publisher wished to have the poems composed by these - for the most part - amateurs[140] for accompaniment of such fine and richly executed illustrations. In a later edition, issued

[138] The option of commissioning a *surimono* series as an alternative to a *kyōka* book was discussed by Kobayashi in Carpenter (Ed., 2005), pp. 159-179.
[139] In the preface, the word *hokku* 発句 is used.
[140] In fairness, amateur in the French meaning of the word. Apart from Sogai, none of the poets seem to have had a notable career in poetry. It is worth mentioning, however, that one of the contributing poets is Matsudaira

under the alternative title *Gyokaifu* 魚貝譜 ('*Album of shells and fishes*'), the poet's names were omitted, but the poems left intact. Later still, the printing blocks were re-used for the edition with the title *Gyokai ryakugashiki* 魚貝略画式 ('*Abbreviated drawings of shells and fishes*'[141]). In this edition, the poetry was omitted entirely. Now, if the poetry was considered an integral part of the initial (commercial) publication that increased the retail price, publishers would retain the poetry and not go to the trouble of carving away the names and poems. This attests to the theory that deluxe poetry anthologies such as this - despite being of a related genre and not *kyōka* itself - were initially produced for poetry groups who likely also invested in the production, while the option of future commercial sales was present from the start.

The book *Kyōka kantō hyakudaishū* 狂歌関東百題集 ('*Kyōka on one hundred themes on the Kantō region*') serves as a third example of a private publication that was commercially reissued at a later stage.[142] It is a collection of *kyōka* by members of the Taikogawa 太鼓側 ('Drum') poetry group, headed by Dondontei Wataru 鈍々亭和樽 (?-1822, KJJ p. 256), originally published in 1813, as mentioned in the preface by Shakuyakutei Nagane 芍薬亭長根 (1767-1845, KJJ p. 160). It contains illustrations by some sixteen or seventeen artists, among whom Ryūryūkyo Shinsai, Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九 (1765-1831), Shikitei Sanba (1776-1822), Kitao Masanobu and Teisai Hokuba. The book was later reissued commercially by the publishers Yorozuya Denjirō 萬屋傳次郎 and Nishimuraya Yohachi 西村屋與八 of Edo. There were minor adaptations, such as the removal of the awarded points that used to be printed next to the poems.[143] These points were apparently deemed no longer of interest to buyers. A major change was the inclusion of a colophon on the inside back cover (Fig. 2). Apart from the names of the publishers, the owner of the blocks is mentioned. It is the poet Chikusōtei [Kazunori] 竹窓亭[和則] (n.d.), a member of the Taikogawa.[144] Here we have a reissue of a *kyōka* book that was beyond doubt privately published initially, and commercially sold since it apparently still had appeal to the general public. The ownership of the printing blocks, and thus the copyright, was acknowledged in the inserted colophon. From this, it is

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Tadatsugu 松平忠告 (1742-1805, of the Sakurai Matsudaira 桜井松平 branch), third daimyō of Amagasaki domain, current Hyōgo prefecture, who uses the pen name [Ichiōsei] Kibun [一桜井]亀文. His son Matsudaira Tadatomi 松平忠宝 (1770-1829), the fourth daimyō of Amagasaki domain from 1806, also features in this book, under the pen name [Sakurai] Kikō 亀幸. Both were pupils of Sogai's. Kibun's poem features alone on the last illustrated page, next to a large *koi* 鯉 (carp), while all other illustrations are accompanied by two or more poems. His status or perhaps financial contribution to the publication may have been the reason for this honorable treatment.

[141] This title was in itself a marketing trick: Masayoshi's illustrated books in the 'abbreviated drawing style' dubbed *ryakugashiki* were popular, and *Tatsu no miyatsuko* was thus marketed as one of the series. While other '*ryakugashiki*' books of his hand were indeed filled with illustrations in Masayoshi's typical 'abbreviated style', the 'fish version' printed from the blocks of *Tatsu no miyatsuko* contained very detailed drawings.

[142] See Kok (2014/5), for a further discussion of this work and how it was acquired.

[143] In some places, the points are left intact - perhaps due to carelessness of the person carving them of the blocks - as pointed out to me by Takahashi Akinori.

[144] His portrait is included in *Kyōka gokusaishiki hyakunin isshu* 狂歌極彩色百人一首 ('*One hundred* kyōka *poets, one poem each, in full-color*'), issued in the Bunsei era by the Katsushika-ren headed by Bunbunsha Kanikomaru 文々舎蟹子丸 (1780-1837). In it, he wears a *haori* 羽織 ('overcoat') that sports the Taikogawa logo (a stylized *taiko* drum).

clear that the commercial publishing houses Yorozuya and Nishimuraya did not own the blocks, but we may assume that the Taikogawa, through Chikusōtei, was compensated for the use of the blocks for this reissue.

Fig. 2. Colophon of *Kyōka kantō hyakudaishū*. Coll. Leiden University Special Collections, inv. no. SER. 747.

Thus, a little light has been shed on the connections between poetry groups and commercial publishers. Hard evidence on the exact division of costs and profits will likely never be obtained, yet the examples above - by no means exceptions - make us realize that the designations 'private publication' and 'commercial publication' should be used with care.

3.2 ***Kyōkabon*: main elements and design**

3.2.1 Book design, formats, materials

Binding, front cover, title slip, *hashira* title, numbering

Kyōka books are bound in traditional Japanese styles, no different from most printed books issued in the same period. A number of the more deluxe publications are bound as leporello, also called concertina or accordion binding, *orihon* 折り本 in Japanese.[145] The majority of *kyōka* books, however, are bound in the *fukurotoji* 袋綴じ style, commonly called 'Japanese binding'. Kornicki describes this style in some detail.[146] The important aspect here is that the leaves of paper are printed on one side, folded onto themselves with the printed side outward and bound at the open end. This results in 'pages', as they would be called in the west, consisting of two layers of paper, 'connected' at the side of the page opposite the 'spine'. One 'page', therefore, does consist of one printed sheet of paper, yet the printing and folding results in two printed faces of content in the final volume. One such printed and folded sheet of paper is called *chō* 丁 in Japanese, and the number of sheets is also counted in *chō* in Japanese book research.[147] The stacked up *chō* are bound together by - usually - two small rolled-up pieces of thin paper, the *toji*. These are fed through small holes at the open ends of the folded leaves and tied into a little knot.

The front and back cover are then placed on the *chō* that were bound by the *toji*, and the entire stack is sewn together with a thread. This means that the *chō* are actually connected twice, once by the *toji* and once by the sewn-in thread. The covers, on the other hand, are only connected to the book block by the thread. Therefore, the content pages of the book and the covers are relatively independent of each other in terms of production. This material aspect explains why *kyōka* books regularly appear with variant covers. Sometimes, sheets from different books are combined and bound into covers of one of the original volumes, or new covers altogether. These convolutes are not uncommon in *kyōka* books.

The covers used for *kyōka* books are no different from those found on most popular books from the same eras. The most common type of cover consists of a simple, smooth and slightly shiny paper in an even color such as a dark or grayish blue, orange or beige. Specifically on the dark blue covers, a simple illustration of flowers or plants was sometimes printed, in a contrasting and decorative color such as gold. It was not uncommon to enhance the appearance of the plain covers by embossing decorative patterns such as flowers, the outlines of little birds, or a repetitive pattern of the issuing *kyōka* group's logo, for instance. Embossing was not so much aimed at heightening the pattern but more at adding a subtle shine to them, in a burnishing process called *tsuyazuri* つや摺り, literally 'shine-printing'. Fully illustrated covers, such as those featured on some popular illustrated novels are not seen on *kyōka* books. Fully printed

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[145] An example is the *kyōka* book *Momochidori kyōka awase* 百千鳥狂歌合 ('*A contest of* kyōka *on a myriad of birds*'), selected by Akamatsu 赤松 (also, Kikira 奇々羅) Kinkei 金鶏 (1767-1809), illustrated by Kitagawa Utamaro 喜多川歌麿 (1753-1806) and published by Tsutaya Jūzaburō, c. 1791. Reproduced and translated into French in Utamaro and Marquet (2009), pp. 109-167.

[146] Kornicki (2001), p. 46. Kornicki states that "at least 90%" of printed books and manuscripts were bound in *fukurotoji* style in the Edo period.

[147] One *chō* thus corresponds to 2 'pages', commonly divided and designated as 'front', *omote* 表 or オ, and 'back', *ura* 裏 or ウ in Japanese. Throughout this thesis, the terms 'recto' and 'verso' will be used for *omote* and *ura* respectively.

covers, however, again in various decorative patterns, are uncommon but do exist.

In the upper left-hand corner of the cover, a title slip or *daisen* 題簽 is pasted. This is a rectangular piece of paper on which the title is printed, regularly followed by an indication of the volume number. *Daisen* made of cloth - silk on luxurious editions - do exist, yet are uncommon to *kyōka* books. The same is true for *daisen* printed in full-color. Most *daisen* on *kyōka* books are printed on regular paper. As is common with most books, a single or double line is printed around the *daisen* just inside the edges of the paper, framing the characters of the title. Illustrated *daisen*, *edaisen* 絵題簽, such as found on popular novels, are not found on *kyōka* books. Small printed decorations, in other colors than black, do feature occasionally. When a *kyōka* book consists of a single volume, the character *zen* 全, 'complete' is usually printed under the title, with some space left open between the title and this indication. In the case of multiple volumes, *zen* is replaced with *jō* 上 and *ge* 下, or upper and lower volume, for two-volume books. When issued in three volumes, the middle volume is indicated as *chū* 中. Otherwise, three volume editions are sometimes numbered *ten chi jin* 天地人, 'Heaven, Earth, Man', or *kō otsu hei* 甲乙丙, after the first three celestial stems, *jikkan* 十干. In the case of three-volume publications, the characters of the title are usually written in increasingly cursive calligraphy styles. Both the style of numbering and the variations in calligraphy are common practice with books of this era.

The vertical space between the frames of two pages, which falls on the fold of a *chō*, is called *hashira* 柱. This word means 'pillar' literally, which is apt for the elongated space that it designates. The number of each *chō* is often printed in the lower part of the *hashira*. The numbering does not necessarily start at one, since prefaces are often numbered *jo no ichi* 序の一, *jo no ni* 序の二, ("Page one of the preface, page two of the preface") et cetera.[148] The upper part of the *hashira* is often saved for the title of the book, which is or a part or variant of the title, printed vertically. These *hashira* titles are important in cataloguing Edo period books, since they can reveal original titles under which a book was published, even if the *chō* were later rebound into a convolute, for instance. *Hashira* titles in *kyōka* books are no different in setup than those in most popular printed books of the same era. One difference, however, is the inclusion of a logo of a *kyōka* group that was involved in publishing the books, or the logo of the poetry master who selected the poems for a particular book. This logo is commonly printed somewhere between the *hashira* title and the *chō* number. Sometimes, the logo replaces the *hashira* title, and only the logo and the number are printed on the *hashira*.

Large books, small books

Kyōka books were printed in various formats. This, again, is no different from other books of the same era. The choice for certain formats was related to the general purpose of the publication. The

[148] Alternatively, numbering is sometimes printed at the edges of the chō that are bound. In this case, the numbering served more as a guide for those who produced the book than for those read the book.

majority of *kyōka* books were printed in the convenient, medium-large *hanshibon* 半紙本 format, measuring c. 22,5 x 16 cm.[149] Luxurious illustrated books were sometimes issued in the large *ōhon* 大本 format, which measures up to 27 x 19 cm. These are rare, though. By comparison, *kyōka* books of a smaller format than the *hanshibon* were more common. *Kyōka* books were also issued in the *chūhon* 中本 format, half the size of *ōhon*, and the *kohon* 小本 format, half the size of the *hanshibon*. These were, however, obviously less popular than the *hanshibon*. The limited space for illustrations and especially the limited space for listing poems of 31 syllables and the poet's names in a single vertical line, must have a played a part. Even smaller formats are not uncommon. The so-called *mamehon* 豆本 (literally bean-book, the word *mame* being used for all things tiny) was employed for books that were intended as pocket guides. *Mamehon* were quite small - the word is used for both half a *chūhon* and half a *kohon* - yet even smaller *kyōka* booklets are known to exist. In these cases, the tiny size is to be regarded as a gimmick rather than a practical choice.

3.2.2 General setup of contents

The title page

As with most Japanese books from the era, the more luxurious *kyōka* books often feature a title page that precedes the preface and other contents. These title pages are often called *mikaeshi* 見返し. The word *mikaeshi* is actually misleading, as it only refers to the paper glued to the inside of the front cover, regardless of whether the title page is placed there or elsewhere. Alternatively, the title page can be positioned on the first page, being the recto side of the first *chō*, in which case it is referred to as the *tobira* 扉 (the character meaning '(front) door' originally). This is actually quite common, since many *kyōka* books were issued without covers altogether. In these instances, the title page, in appearance at least, becomes the cover.[150] When - returning to the regular case of a book block bound in covers - the title page is printed on the first page, the *mikaeshi* is usually left blank. If not left blank, the *mikaeshi* can feature additional data, such as a table of contents, or advertisements, for instance.

The title page, whether placed at the *mikaeshi* or elsewhere, contains various data. It is generally divided into three columns, much like colophons. The middle column is usually reserved for the full title of the book.[151] The columns to the left and right announce the author/editor/poetry selector, illustrating artist, and publisher - whether a commercial publishing house or a commissioning poetry group for

[149] Based on the *kyōka* books I examined. Other sources, such as Nakano (1995) give up to 24 x 17 cm. The eventual size of any book of the hanshibon format depends, of course, on the initial size of the *hanshi*-sized (*hanshihan* 半紙判) paper used, and the amount of trimming that was done in the production process.

[150] This usually concerns competition result books; see section 3.3.3. More specifically, this concerns *tsukinamishū*, relatively thin monthly issues that could be stacked together and bound in covers by the owners if so desired.

[151] The title used on the title page is referred to as *naidai* 内題, 'inside title'. Perhaps it is better to say that the title page gives the full title, whereas the *gedai* 外題, or literally 'outside title', can deviate due to constraints of the *daisen*, being a relatively simple slip of paper that has the function of identifying the book without opening it, and can easily become illegible or get lost over time.

instance. Sometimes, the place of publication is also given. The function of the *mikaeshi* is different from that of the colophon in so far that the latter is a legal requirement[152] for books, and as such usually states the mandatory data in a straightforward manner. The title page serves as a further attraction to readers (and buyers). The title page, therefore, commonly features fine calligraphy and decorations in color. Even if monochrome, the title page is usually printed in a dark blue instead of simple black *sumi*.

The preface

Prefaces in Japanese books of the Edo period are of a promotional nature, emphasizing the quality of the contents and legitimizing the authority of the writer, editor, illustrator, calligrapher, et cetera. They are often written by authors who are not otherwise involved in the publication, at the request of the publisher. Preface authors do have a certain standing in the field, or a professional connection to the subject. Prefaces in *kyōka* books follow this same pattern. The authors frequently mention the fact of the request in their prefaces.[153] One difference in privately published *kyōka* books, however, is the fact that prefaces are usually written by the *kyōka* master who selected the poetry. In both cases, the nature of *kyōka* poetry is reflected in the language used in these prefaces, making abundant use of wordplay and references to the classics. When the publication is based on a *kyōka* competition or gathering of some sort, the venue and theme of the meeting is sometimes mentioned. Prefaces are usually kept fairly short, ranging from one to three pages in length, or half to one-and-a-half *chō*. The text is signed by the author and sometimes dated as well. In this case, the zodiac sign for the year of publication is given, and an indication of the season or month.

Table of contents

Kyōka books do not often feature a table of contents, or *mokuroku* 目録. The setup of most books speaks for itself and does not need further explanation for their readers. The more or less fixed structure seen in the majority of *kyōka* books - along the same lines as this section - will have been quite clear. Furthermore, most *kyōka* books consist of a maximum of between 30 or 40 *chō* only, which renders a table of contents largely obsolete. '*Kyōka* information books', to be further elaborated upon in section 3.3.4, usually do contain a table of contents. Here, the division into themes and styles, as construed by the editor, will have necessitated further explanation to the reader. Furthermore, for the purpose of looking up poems used as references obviously requires a table of contents for practical reasons.

The poems

The primary function of a *kyōka* book is transmitting a certain selection of poetry. The most

[152] Since 1721-1722. See Kornicki (2001), pp. 337-338; Davis (2007), p. 283. Further information on colophons is found in the appropriate section below.

[153] For instance, the preface by Rokujuen to *Kyōka gohyakudai* 狂歌五百題 ('Kyōka *on 500 subjects*'), a pocket-sized list of *kyōka* by famous *kyōka* masters, on various subjects, edited by Kikira Kinkei and published (posthumously) in 1811.

efficient way of transmitting the poems is simply listing them in single, vertical lines. This is common in selections of poetry that were issued privately following a contest. A regular *hanshibon* page will allow listing up to fourteen poems, although eleven or twelve is most common. In cases where the poet's name is listed next to a poem instead of underneath, no more than seven or eight poems will fit on one page. In theory, a book consisting of 30 *chō* may therefore hold over 800 poems.[154] Space for printing poems is lost, however, on prefaces, illustrated pages, indication of sections, mention of poetry themes, etcetera.

The competitive spirit in *kyōka* results in poems in *kyōka* books being arranged in a specific order. This applies primarily to books listing the poems submitted at a *kyōka* competition. Poems are arranged according to the number of points awarded by the judge. In the case of multiple judges, the marks by each judge are printed separately, underneath one another. The poems are listed in descending order per theme. The illustrated pages - if present - hold the poems with the highest marks. Illustrations then often take the various themes that were competed on as subject. This is also why illustrations are sometimes inserted intermittently; they feature at the start of each section that lists the poems on a certain theme or subject. The poems with the highest marks feature next to the illustration, the poems with lower marks are listed on the plain pages after the illustrated page.[155] When the selector(s) or judge(s) contributed poems themselves, these are marked with a small circle in the spot where the number of points would be printed. In the case of multiple judges, it was common that the other judges contributed poems. These were judged by the other judges, and awarded points like the other poems. In the books, this shows up as a list of marks - as was done for every other poet - with one mark substituted by a circle. The very last positions in a book were usually reserved for the selector, judges, or others important to the publication of the book.

Kobayashi discusses the system for awarding points to poems.[156] This system, called *tentori*, was already present in *haikai* poetry traditions - as mentioned in the introduction - and was adapted for *kyōka* meetings in the Tenmei period. The *tentori* system allows for a stratification of quality of poems, which in turn allows for a stratification of the poets themselves. The many *kyōka* books that record the points awarded at poetry meetings attest to the fact that the system of *tentori* was widely used. Furthermore, the consistency in the use of the *tentori* system throughout Japan and throughout the period of *kyōka* popularity shows a high degree of institutionalization. The *tentori* system was only used to a small extent in the Tenmei period, but the growth of the number of poets attending *kyōka* meetings and the consequent growth of the *kyōka* poetry clubs, called for a wide application of this system. Therefore, the occurrence of points in *kyōka* books is commonplace mainly from the Kansei era, 1789 and onwards.

Underneath each poem, the pen name, *gō* 号, of the poet is given. In poems featured on illustrated pages, the name is usually placed to the left of the poem. Frequently, the place of domicile is

[154] Since poets usually feature with more than one poem, the total number of poets in a book is considerably lower than the total number of poems.
[155] The number of points needed to be awarded a place in the illustrated pages was usually mentioned on *kyōka* competition announcements; see section 4.2.
[156] Kobayashi, F. (2002), pp. 32-35.

also mentioned, in this case right above (before) the *gō*. The poet's pen name and place of domicile is mentioned in order to assure that the poet receives his or her proper credits for the poems that were selected for publication. Mediocre or poor poems submitted at contests were, after all, not even printed in the final publication.[157]

Illustrations

Not all *kyōka* books feature illustrations. This is an obvious fact, yet easy to ignore when perusing *kyōka* books kept in European and American collections. The fact that *kyōka* books without illustrations were of minor interest to collectors of Japanese graphic art speaks for itself. I have argued before that those *kyōka* books that contain only text still provide data on the world of *kyōka* that is of at least equal value to data found in illustrated books. This subsection, however, focuses on the books that do feature illustrations, the arrangement of illustrations within books, subject matter, layout and composition, functions and implications.

Transmitting poems in print should be considered the primary function of any *kyōka* book, presenting these poems in an appealing way in principle being the secondary function. It is clear from *kyōka* books in general, though, that visual appeal was rarely neglected. The presentation of poetry is not only often enhanced by illustrations, the calligraphy forms an important aspect of the aesthetic experience. This does not mean that a distinctive hand was the aim. What was needed for poetry selections is a consistent, readable, yet visually attractive style of writing. Furthermore, the material qualities of a *kyōka* book, for instance quality of paper or the decoration of covers, also add to the visual attractiveness of a book, even when it does not contain illustrations.

The arrangement of illustrations in *kyōka* books falls into three varieties: fully illustrated books; books that feature a number of illustrated pages and then pages without illustrations; and books that feature illustrations interspersed between pages of poems. Fully illustrated books are generally of the most luxurious type. A well-known example is *Kokon kyōka bukuro*, of which all pages except for the postface and colophon are illustrated.[158] Issuing books with illustrations only on the first couple of pages was a common practice in popular printing. These pages are known as *kuchie* 口絵. One can assume that placing all illustrations at the beginning of a book not only appeals to readers who take a first look in a book, but also makes coordinating the makeup of the book easier for the publisher. When illustrations are inserted

[157] Kobayashi, F. (2002), pp. 34-35.

[158] Even the main preface is adorned with a color-printed oval frame. The book - incidentally of the large *ōhon* format - was published by Tsutaya Jūzaburō in 1787. The poems were selected by Yadoya no Meshimori, the illustration were designed by Kitao Masanobu. The calligraphy of the poems printed next to the mock portraits of the poets is generally assumed to have been executed by Ōta Nanpo (a.k.a. Yomo no Akara and later as Shokusanjin). Nanpo wrote the main preface and features in the last portrait, an honorary position. Hamada Giichirō contends that the calligraphy in the precursor of this book, *Azuma buri kyōka bunko* 吾妻曲狂歌文庫 ('*Stacks of* kyōka *from the Eastern Capital*'), was done by Nanpo (see Hamada (1963), p. 292 and Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan (2008), p. 120, no.7). The calligraphy in both books is similar, and also similar to other known examples of his hand.

in between a number of unillustrated pages, these are called *sashie* 挿絵. In the case of *kyōka* books, *sashie* usually feature at the beginning of a new section, for instance a section on the next poetic theme.

Illustrations in *kyōka* books treat a large variety of subjects. The most common subjects include poet's portraits, depictions of city life, and landscapes. Portraits rarely concern entirely serious depictions. Poets are usually captured in a pose that displays some kind of mockery. Be it parodying classic portraits of 'immortal poets', such as in the aforementioned *Kokon kyōka bukuro*, or presenting poets as heroes of the popular tale *Suikoden*[159], the portrayals reflect the overarching theme of the book.[160] Depictions of city life and landscape are often combined. Well-known examples are the *kyōka* books published by the publishing firm of Tsutaya Jūzaburō around the turn of the nineteenth century, with illustrations designed by Hokusai and the selection of poems done by Sensōan Ichindo. For instance, *Azuma asobi* 画本東遊, ('*Pleasures in the Eastern Capital: A Picture Book*'), published in 1799.[161] Plates of city dwellers buying dolls at the market at Jikkendana, or browsing through books and prints at the very store of Tsutaya himself, alternate with landscapes at famous sites in Edo.

Illustrations are generally placed in a frame (*kyōkaku* 匡郭) that surrounds every page, just like the text pages. The boundaries of the frame are not absolute; sometimes elements of illustrations are deliberately allowed to protrude from the frame, to attain a strong visual effect of 'leaping off the page'.[162] The frame will have been a practical aid in the alignment of pages during production, yet books with frameless pages do also exist. Illustrations either take up one page-width, corresponding with half a *chō*, or two pages, running from the verso side of one *chō* to the recto side of the next. To make these illustrations work well visually on an opened double-page, a so-called *mihiraki* 見開き, the frames - and the empty space between them especially - need to be taken into consideration in the design. Making a landscape retain its continuity of composition stretching across a *mihiraki* requires a careful layout. In some cases, the frame is divided into a lower and an upper section, where the lower section is reserved for the illustration and the upper section contains poems or smaller illustrations. In these cases, the ratio is about 2:1, the lower section being double the height of the upper. *Mihiraki* are not common with this setup.

Poems regularly form part of the illustrations in *kyōka* books. As mentioned earlier, the medium

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[159] As featured in *Kyōka suikoden* 狂歌水滸伝, ('*Heroes of the Water Margin, a* kyōka *Version*'), published for the Gogawa poetry group in 1822. The poems were selected by Jingairō Kiyosumi 塵外楼清澄 (1794-1844, son of Rokujuen, KJJ p. 60), Edozono 江戸園 (unknown) and Fukunoya Uchinari 福之屋内成 (n.d., KJJ p. 21). The illustrations were done by Gakutei Sadaoka. Fukunoya, together with Gakutei, is subject of an essay by Makino (2008), pp. 54-61.

[160] For further theory on the implications of portraits in *kyōka* books, see Kok (2010).

[161] It should be noted that Tsutaya died in 1797, but the colophon of *Azuma asobi* nonetheless bears his name. Perhaps this refers to his successor, who also operated under the name Tsutaya Jūzaburō (II). The book was initially issued in a *sumizuri* edition; a color printed edition was issued later, with the title *Ehon azuma asobi*.

[162] Hokusai applies this compositional trick regularly, for instance the first plate, depicting the mountains around the temple Shiba Shinmeigū 芝神明宮 (now known as Shiba Daijingū), in the aforementioned (*Ehon*) *azuma asobi*. Another example is the illustration of the high votive lantern of Kayadera in Ehon sumidagawa ryōgan ichiran 絵本隅田両岸一覧, published by Tsuruya Kiemon as a commission by Kojūrō Nariyasu and his poetry circle circa 1801-1803 (see Forrer and Kok (2012)).

of woodblock print allows for relatively uncomplicated integration of text and image. In *kyōka* illustrations, this means that the theme of certain poems is not only reflected in the images, the poems are actually integrated into the image. The combination of pictorial and textual elements has a long tradition in Japanese art history, and as such, the setup in *kyōka* illustrations is nothing more than a continuation of this tradition. The text-image relations in *kyōka* books in terms of content are perhaps not as profound as those in *surimono*, generally speaking. The composition of text and image, however, show that space for the inscription of poems was carefully reserved by illustrators.

Illustrations in *kyōka* books function differently, depending on their relation to the poetry. A question that comes to mind regularly when reflecting on the function of illustrations in *kyōka* books is whether the illustrations were designed with the poetry in mind, or vice versa. And, therefore, how the dynamics between text and image should be understood. Does the image function as an illustration to the poetry, or does the poetry borrow inspiration from the image? I would argue that the relationship works both ways, and only the ratio of influence from one on the other varies. When *kyōka* groups held poetry gatherings or competitions where the best poems on certain pre-decided themes were later published with illustrations, it is more than likely that the illustrations were designed after the poetry had been composed. This way, ideas could be borrowed and textual allusion could be coupled to pictorial allusions, similarly to the practice with *surimono*. On the other hand, in deluxe anthologies for which the initiative was taken by commercial publishers, a different ratio of influence applied. In these cases, the selling point of wonderful illustrations was rather enhanced by adding poetry. One can imagine, however, that intense collaboration between *kyōka* group leaders, illustrators and publishers from the initial stages of a publication onwards would have excluded the possibility of a total absence of influence to and fro.[163]

Tōza section

Kyōka books containing poems gathered at a meeting or contest sometimes feature a short section called *tōza* 當坐, "at the sitting". The *tōza* section is often placed towards the back of the book and lists poems composed *ad lib* at the meeting itself. These poems were commonly judged by another poet than the selector of the book, and this poet was also asked to decide on the theme. Mainly the younger poets attending the meeting were tested at this point of the competition.[164] The fact that relatively few numbers

[163] There cases like where poetry leader and illustrator where one and the same, making the influence even more fluid. For instance, *Kyōka nihon fudoki* 狂歌日本風土記 ('*The* kyōka *land survey of Japan*'), illustrated by Gakutei Sadaoka (see section 4.2). The poetry selection was done by Tsurunoya Osamaru 鶴廼屋乎佐丸 (c. 1751-c.1839 acc. to Keyes (2004), p. 117; KJJ p. 259) and Hokusō Umeyoshi (Baikō) 北窓梅好 (n.d.; acc. to KJJ p. 179, he would later become Tsurunoya II), but Gakutei can be seen presiding over a poetry competition in one of the illustrations. Furthermore, a poem of his appears in the honorary position at the end (in fact second to last - despite mediocre points - just before the last poem, by selector Umeyoshi), indicating his special status with regard to this publication.

[164] According to Ishikawa Ryō in a conversation, October 2007. Indeed, it is rare to find the elder and better-known poets in the *tōza* section. See also Takahashi (2008), pp. 8-9 and 12-15, for a discussion of *tōza* as 'shared space' and further explanation of how *tōza* formed part of monthly *kyōka* meetings. Apart from *kyōka* meetings, *tōza* also formed part of *waka* and *haikai* gatherings, according to Kobayashi Fumiko in private correspondence

of poems are listed in the *tōza* section - if present at all - underwrites the notion that composing a *kyōka* poem required time for careful tweaking and polishing. Another reason for the small numbers of poems in the *tōza* section is the fact that not all contestants could attend the gathering.[165]

Colophon and advertisements

Commercially published *kyōka* books followed government regulations the same way other commercial books did. Regulations in place since 1721-1722 required the names of the author and the publisher to be listed in newly published books. Their implementation was part of the Kyōhō (era) Reforms, *Kyōhō no kaikaku* 享保の改革.[166] The laws concerning book publication were enforced with renewed vigor from 1790 onwards - this time as part of the Kansei Reforms *Kansei no kaikaku* 寛政の改革.[167] The name(s) of the author(s) and publisher(s), as well as the name(s) of the illustrator(s) and a date of publication, were summed up in a colophon, *okuzuke* 奥付. In the case of *kyōka* books, the *okuzuke* was printed on a single page (i.e. half a *chō*) in the back of the book. The outer frame was sometimes vertically subdivided into three sections. The right hand section would be reserved for the author's name, the middle for the illustrator's name, and the left section for the publisher's name and date. Many variations exist, however. The page featuring the *okuzuke* had a very practical purpose, and was therefore rarely adorned with decorative borders and the like.

Colophons in *kyōka* books published outside the commercial circuit follow official practice less strictly. Even though these books were not submitted to publisher's guild, most would still feature an *okuzuke* that listed the poetry selector(s), illustrator and date. In some cases, the owner of the blocks - therefore the copyright holder - would be mentioned. This could be one of the contributing poets (who had likely invested in the publication) or the poetry circle as a whole. In some *kyōka* books, specifically if they constitute part of a larger publication, a colophon is omitted altogether.

Advertisements and announcements of forthcoming publications are found in commercially published *kyōka* books just like they were in other commercially published books. The highly commercial nature of book printing industry of the mid to late Edo period is evinced by the frequent inclusion of market-oriented, well-focused advertisements. Other books by the same author, other books in the same genre, or other books illustrated by the same artist; the focus in these advertisements almost resembles the suggestions based on one's online browsing and buying patterns, as offered by modern-day book-selling websites. This attests to the fact that advertisements were not a standard list of books on sale by a particular publisher, but a focused marketing attempt aimed at a certain readership. Non-commercial publications of *kyōka* do not feature advertisements.

(2017).

[165] The poems submitted for judgment prior to the gathering, to be included in the general sections of the book, were sorted by theme and copied in a single handwriting beforehand, anonymizing them for fair judgment. These were then read out loud at the meeting and judged at the scene. See Takahashi (2008).

[166] Kornicki (2001), pp. 337-338 and Davis (2007), p. 283.

[167] Davis (2007), p. 284.

3.3 *Kyōkabon*: functions and categories

3.3.1 Different functions: three different types of *kyōkabon*

Despite the great variety in *kyōkabon*, an investigation into their publication purpose and readership leads me to distinguish three types: *kyōka* anthologies, *kyōka* competition result books and *kyōka* information books. These three types serve distinctly different purposes, cater to different intended audiences and show different structural patterns. Despite the clear distinction in terms of publication purpose and readership, a slight degree of overlap exists with regard to practical matters such as the use of (color) illustrations. Generally speaking, however, the material qualities of the *kyōka* books change with their purpose and consumption, as explained hereunder. After a brief outline of each of the categories I distinguish, I will present representative examples for each category.

Kyōka anthologies

With the popularity of *kyōka* steeply rising in the Tenmei period (1781-1788), an increasing demand for *kyōka* anthologies developed on the commercial market. An anthology of the finest poems, selected by a renowned *kyōka* master, could count on a considerable audience. Edo publishers were very flexible and soon picked up on the trend, contracting leading figures such as Ōta Nanpo for compiling anthologies. To make these books even more appealing, the newly popular poetry was combined with high-quality illustrations.

Color printing was still exceptional in the Tenmei period. However, the technical boundaries were pushed with every new publication and not only full-color prints with exotic pigments were published, books also provided a possibility for displaying the newest technical advancements. These books, with their multi-color illustrations, were usually illustrated by renowned designers and - although no factual evidence could be found - the retail price for these books must have been high. The *kyōka* anthologies with poetry selected by a popular *kyōka* master, and expensive color illustrations designed by a popular designer nonetheless sold well, as is proven by the fact that many of these books remain and many books exist in variant editions. These are commercial publications and the colophons and advertisements are further proof of their high turnover. And because they were commercial publications, the publishers could not afford to print only a small number of issues, because the costs per book would be too high.

The publishers of these high-quality poetry books are usually publishers who also produced *ukiyoe* prints, similarly pushing the boundaries of technical possibilities in woodblock printing, the most famous proponent being Tsutaya Jūzaburō. The commercially published *kyōka* anthologies were marketed at the publisher's outlet store, and were often fitted in an illustrated printed wrapper, which is also a very (visually) appealing part of this type of high-end publication in the Edo period.[168]

[168] More on these wrappers is written by Forrer (1985), pp. 47-49.

These books carry not as much poetry as one would expect. The emphasis is mostly on the illustrations, which seem to have been a major attraction for buyers of these books. Some books are almost completely illustrated from beginning to end, and the poetry is added in the illustrated pages. In this case it is common to see illustrations that are placed in the bottom space of the page and the poetry placed more towards the top of the page, similar to the common makeup of *surimono*.

Rather luxurious anthologies were also issued privately, especially around the 1800s. In these cases, a poetry group apparently gathered the cost for publication among its members. The differences with commercially published anthologies can be small, although the ratio of poetry and illustrations can move towards a stronger representation of poems, occasionally omitting illustrations altogether. Because the initiative lay with the poetry group, there is usually a stronger thematic approach to the book as a whole. Colophons and advertisements, of course, lack in these publications, although the producer of the book is sometimes mentioned.

Whether issued commercially or privately, *kyōka* anthologies generally consist of at least the following elements. Usually they have an illustrated cover or at least a colored cover with some kind of relief pattern. Then follows a title page with the title written in an elaborate script of some sort (for instance seal script or calligraphy), and then, before the poetry starts, there is a preface by the principal poetry selector of the book. This preface commonly stretches across two or three pages, and is usually dated and signed by the selector.

Kyōka competition result books

The competitive nature of *kyōka* resulted in large numbers of competition result books being published. *Kyōka* gatherings were held regularly throughout the year. There were great variations in the size of the meetings, from informal get-togethers to large parties with many contestants, and who knows how many more spectators. Competitions were presided over by the club leader and judges from within the club awarded points to each poem entered in the competition. Results were often published in so-called *kōtenshū* 高点集 ('high point collections'), in which only poems that scored upwards of a certain number of points were gathered.[169]

The main subdivision to be made is that between books with the simple aim of listing poems by the number of awarded points at a certain gathering and those that also aimed to present the poetry in an elegant publication. The simpler books often concern so-called *tsukinamishū* 月並集 or 月次集[170],

[169] Usually eight and up, or ten and up in the case of one judge, who cold award up to fifteen points per poem. As I have mentioned before, the system of *tentori* - receiving points for poems - and how this results in the publication of result books, *banzuke*, *surimono*, etc. is extensively discussed by Kobayashi, F. (2002). The way *kyōka* competitions were conducted is also briefly explained in English by Makino (2008), pp. 55-56.

[170] The word *tsukinami* has an antiquated ancient ring to it, which will have been appreciated by *kyōka* poets with their common nostalgic tendencies with regard to Japanese poetry. The word was already used for folding screens illustrating themes from (one or more of) the twelve months as early as the ninth century (*tsukinami byōbu* 月並屏風). See Kamens (1989), p. 27.

collections of poems judged at monthly gatherings, as held by various poetry groups.[171] Such competition results were generally published using the comparatively inexpensive *sumizuri* technique, in ink only. Such books were often issued in the *hanshibon* format. Most of these books lack a colophon, which makes dating them difficult. A cover is often lacking, since the separate fascicles issued over the year were meant to be bound by individual poets.[172]

As a general pattern, the first sheet recto is reserved for a title page, containing at least the name of the gathering and the name of the selector(s). The following sheets are filled with ten to fourteen poems per page, written vertically. These poems are sorted, first by theme and then by number of points awarded. The selected theme is printed above the first poem in a list, or just above the middle of the page, preceding a list of poems with a theme. The points are printed to the right of the poems, at the same height as the first characters. In case more than one judge gave points, these are written underneath each other according to importance of the judges. The order of the judges' points is often marked at the beginning of the book, where the very first set of points is accompanied by the logos of the respective judges. Sometimes, the points are only written once per group of poems with the same amount of points in order to save space. Effort is made to ensure that the poems are all written to measure the same length, despite slight differences in number of characters. Underneath each poem, a small space is left open, before giving the name of the poets. Most of the time, only the *gō* is given, although some books give the full pen name on the first appearance and shorten the name to just the *gō* afterwards. To the upper right of the poets' names, the place where they live is given. When a gathering has been held in Edo, only the places outside Edo are mentioned. Likewise, when a gathering was held in Osaka, only the hometowns of poets from outside Osaka are given.

Thus, the outcome of a *kyōka* contest is published in a cheap and simple way for club members to reread at home. For some, it may have been more important to enjoy their own victorious poems, or perhaps learn from those who surpassed them and make sure that they performed better at future contests. It is quite clear from these books that they served a straightforward purpose in recording the poems presented at a certain meeting, the names of the poets who composed them, and the points these poems received.

Competition result books with illustrations

Sometimes, *tsukinamishū* or similar books feature a number of illustrated pages. The designs for such illustrations can be quite minimalistic, printed in black only, merely serving to generally illustrate the themes chosen for the poems that were printed alongside the images. The illustrations in competition result books usually lack the depth of allusions and interplay with the content of the poems that is encountered in *surimono*. On a single illustrated page - i.e. only one half of a sheet - up to five poems could

[171] Such publications would also often include a separate sheet with a printed *banzuke*.
[172] Sometimes the competition results are mixed with other types of *kyōkabon* of the same size and bound into – in some cases rather bulky – combined bindings.

fit, although it is more common to see about two or three poems in the limited space above or aside an illustration. Naturally, only the highest-scoring poems were printed next to the illustrations, whereas lower-scoring poems ended up in the non-illustrated sections.

More deluxe editions could be the outcome of a year full of monthly gatherings, or the result of a single contest that was held only once. Such books would not only record the outcome of the competition, but the combination of poetry and illustrations common in these books would also provide the joyful reading and viewing for group members. Specifically during the (late) Bunsei era, *kōtenshū* featuring color illustrations were commissioned by several poetry groups. Many of these were illustrated by popular *surimono* designers such as Gakutei Sadaoka and Totoya Hokkei. Being competition result books, points or equivalent indications of quality were noted alongside the poems, yet the emphasis on the competitive element varies between the various result books. The beautifully illustrated pages of such result books were sometimes re-issued later, usually by commercial publishers, as a stand-alone edition without the unillustrated pages (sometimes also omitting the indication of awarded points next to poems). Viewing only such re-issues gives the impression that fewer poets competed than actually did. Commissioning fully illustrated result books was possible rather because of the (financial) contributions by so many poets.

Kyōka **information books**

A third category to be distinguished within *kyōkabon* is the "information book". These books offer *kyōka* enthusiasts a way of honing their skills or learning more about the major poets and judges in the genre. Some of these books serve as a guide to writing better poems, while other information books have a more practical purpose of guiding poets through the world of *kyōka*. This second type of information book cites successful poems and gives some biographical information, recording family and pen names. Club affiliation is also frequently given. Some books give more extensive information such as the poet's address, birth status and/or means of income.

Many *kyōka* information books feature portraits of poets. In most of these books we see portraits of these poets seated, with one of his or her poems above the illustration. The most common thing to see these poets doing is reading, or writing a poem, or just sitting down and relaxing. In the case of serious depictions, something that has to be judged on a case-by-case basis, the clothing worn in the portraits and the accessories that the poets carry provide information about their position in life. Sometimes we find that poets are shown carrying two swords, indicating their samurai status, in other portraits we see poets who are completely bald, and their shaven head tells us that they are lay priests or doctors. In other cases we find accessories or garments showing logos and emblems that show the club affiliation of this particular poet. Some information books list many poets per book and are more elaborate on the information part, giving place names where the poets are from, sometimes even giving their address within the city of Edo. Such elaborate information books frequently list other pen names and common names for the poets, and sometimes even mention family relations, such as "the wife of", "the son of" (in that case, mostly "the son of [someone more famous]". These later, more elaborate information books are commonly printed in black only, which may have to do only with the larger number of pages, which

would drive the costs for a color-illustrated book up too far.

The reason for the existence of *kyōka* information books is twofold: First, after *kyōka* had outgrown the initial circles of friends and acquaintances, skills had to be disseminated more widely, and printed books provided the best option for transmission. As discussed above, there was an audience of *kyōka* enthusiasts who were eager to read more poems and naturally wished to learn how to compose better poems themselves, in order to keep up with the rest in gatherings and competitions. Such books were common for the composition of *waka*, and it is only logical that *kyōka* versions of this type of self-learn book came into existence.[173]

The second reason lies in the appealing world of organized *kyōka* composition and the strong representation of the individual poet and his or her poetic merits. Through skillful composition, one could climb up in the hierarchy of a *kyōka* group, and gain recognition as a poet. *Kyōka* information books offered ways to not only improve composition skills, but also adapt to the taste of certain judges. This could lead to being awarded higher scores, which made a better ranking attainable. The higher status as a poet would have been a strong incentive to buy a *kyōka* information book and study it well. The cost of such a book will have seemed small at the prospect of making it to the illustrated pages in a competition result book.

Foremost category per era

The relative numbers of books in each category changed over time. It is difficult to give exact numbers. A sampling of *kyōka* books from the Tenmei period to the Bunsei era reveals the following.[174] In the Tenmei era, *kyōka* anthologies form the majority of publications. The number of anthologies without illustrations outnumbers those with illustrations. Competition result books are still uncommon in the Tenmei era. In fact, competition results were not found in the sample examined here. One *kyōka* information book surfaced, on a total of 12 *kyōka* books for this period.[175] By the Bunsei era, the balance has shifted considerably. The competition result books outnumber the anthologies 34 to four. In fact, even the information books, six found for this period, outnumber the anthologies. The combined totals for the

[173] In fact, there were guides and self-learn books for all kinds of skills, such as ikebana, letter-writing, etc. See Ikegami (2005).

[174] These figures are based on a cross section of printed Edo *kyōka* books that are known to me and/or could be visually verified in the Waseda University Library collection (http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/) and Microfiche database of the National Institute of Japanese Literature (NIJL; http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/~micro/about.html), accessed on February/March 2014. This includes books published in Edo or commissioned by poets or poetry groups that were rooted in Edo or in the Edo tradition (since competition result books of the Bunsei era especially demonstrate nationwide participation in that tradition). Selection was done using genre '*kyōka*' and (in the case of the NIJL database) period 'Tenmei', 'Kansei', 'Kyōwa', 'Bunka', 'Bunsei'. The total of publications is far higher than the numbers calculated here, since books that are not to be found in the pertaining Waseda and NIJL databases and publications that are not available on microfiche (NIJL) are not taken into consideration. This cross section is random in the sense that - to my knowledge - no selection was done by either collecting institute. The total number of books that fit the criteria formulated above is 95. For further data on the *kyōka* publication numbers is given in graphs in figs. 9, 10, and 11, in section 4.3.

[175] This is *Hama no kisago*, presented in detail hereunder.

three categories are 29 anthologies (17 with and 12 without illustrations), 34 competition result books (23 with and 11 without illustrations), 32 *kyōka* information books (16 with and 16 without illustrations). Generally speaking, the percentage of competition result books gradually increased during these eras due to further evolution and growth of *kyōka* poetry groups and their competitive activities. The decrease of *kyōka* anthologies after the Kyōwa era is congruent with Kobayashi's theory that regulations banning display of wealth lead to a shift to series of *surimono*.[176] In the following sections, representative examples of *kyōka* anthologies, *kyōka* competition result books and *kyōka* information books will be given and discussed.

3.3.2 Examples of *kyōka* anthologies: selections of the best of *kyōka*

***Azumaburi kyōka Bunko*, selected by Yadoya no Meshimori**

A good example of a Tenmei period commercially published *kyōka anthology* is *Azumaburi kyōka bunko* 吾妻曲狂歌文庫 (*'Archive of kyōka from the east'*), for which the selection of the poetry was done by Yadoya no Meshimori. This commercial *kyōka* anthology was first published in the Spring of Tenmei 6 (1786), by Tsutaya Jūzaburō. It contains 50 full-body portraits of mostly contemporary *kyōka* poets, in color, each accompanied by one of their verses. The portraits depict the poets in a classical style known as *kasen'e* 歌仙絵, 'drawings of immortal poets'. *Kasen'e*, the traditional - imaginary - depiction of poets has a long history, but in this case, the traditional style is mocked by the inclusion of out-of-place attributes and odd poses.[177] The illustrations were drawn by Kitao Masanobu (Santō Kyōden). The preface by Meshimori alludes to the fact that Ōta Nanpo provided the calligraphy.[178] Nanpo, under his *kyōka* pen name Yomo no Akara, is portrayed in the honorary last position (Fig. 3). The book is issued in the large *ōhon* format, and features extensive color printing.

[176] As discussed above, in section 1.2.1.
[177] More on the significance of these satirizing depictions in Kok (2010).
[178] Hamada (1963), p. 473. The entire book is transcribed and annotated here (pp. 471-502). My observations are based on the copy in the collection of the Edo-Tokyo Museum in Tokyo.

Fig. 3: Portrait of Ōta Nanpo in *kasen'e* style in *Kokon kyōka bukuro* (1787), followed by the afterword. Coll. Edo-Tokyo Museum (no inv. no.).

The intention of this book can be surmised from (the setup of) its contents, and also from related publications of the years before and after. To start with the contents: The title page features a *naidai* that adds a kind of subtitle: *Azumaburi kyōka gojūnin isshu* 吾妻曲狂歌五十人一首, *kyōka from the East: Fifty poets, one poem each*. While the main title emphasizes the fact that these are poems from Edo, the subtitle obviously alludes to the classic *waka* anthology *Hyakunin isshu* 百人一首, *One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each*. In this case, the total is half the classic number. Then follows a preface by the selector Yadoya no Meshimori, in which he states that poems like these (*kyōka*) already featured in the *Kokinshū* (*Kokin wakashū*), just like in his time. He explains that he has gathered the most interesting poems, regardless of the status of the poet.[179] So far, he says, he has come to 50. Indeed, the next 50 pages are reserved for portraits of 50 poets, each featuring with one poem. The parodying mode of depiction is in accordance with the nature of the poetry. Then follows a simple colophon that lists the illustrator, the block-cutter,

[179] He uses the metaphor of people in a brothel, a situation where class becomes irrelevant.

the date of publication and the publisher and his address. Also, an announcement is made for a second volume, again containing 50 poets, to be issued soon, in color.[180]

This brings us to the planning by the publisher, and the point of related publications before and after. Ōta Nanpo had previously privately published an anthology of 36 poets with one poem each, entitled *Kyōka sanjūrokuninsen* 狂歌三十六人撰.[181] The number of 36 is a reference, of course, to the '36 immortal poets', *sanjūrokkasen* 三十六歌仙. The book, printed in black ink only, features simple illustrations that were drawn by one Tankyū 丹丘. It is unclear who this is, but a handwritten inscription in the copy held in the National Institute of Japanese Literature states that the illustrations are by renowned painter Sakai Hōitsu 酒井抱一 (1761-1829). This seems plausible - despite the name Tankyū not being known as one of Hōitsu's aliases - given the style and the fact that Hōitsu features prominently on the first illustrated page, under his *kyōka* name Shiriyake no Sarundo 尻焼猿人 ('The monkey man with the burnt bottom').[182] The book contains a colophon that mentions Hajintei (one of the names Ōta Nanpo used) as the owner of the copyright. The colophon gives no date, but the book is usually considered to be dating to 1783.[183] The colophon further states that the first volume is delivered and that the second volume (again of 36 poets apparently) is to be issued. Volume three and four are also already listed, though without further designation. None of these volumes two through four are known to have actually been published. The book is very similar to *Azumaburi kyōka bunko* in setup, despite the simpler execution. It seems likely that Tsutaya Jūzaburō noticed this private publication and saw potential for a commercial version. Despite the fact that the selection of poetry for *Azumaburi kyōka bunko* was done by Yadoya no Meshimori, it is clear that Ōta Nanpo was also very much involved in this publication. *Kyōka sanjūrokuninsen*, as I see it, can be considered a precursor to *Azumaburi kyōka bunko*. This would also explain why the volumes two, three and four of *kyōka sanjūrokuninsen* were never issued.

Considering the announcement in *Azumaburi kyōka bunko* - the book of 50 poets - it seems that the Tsutaya had always planned to have Meshimori gather 100 poems by the same number of *kyōka* poets. Perhaps the decision to first publish only half was a strategy to gauge the marketability. If so, the success must have been overwhelming, for a second volume of another 50 was abandoned, being replaced by an anthology that featured 100 poets and their poems in one volume. This was issued under the title *Kokon kyōka bukuro* 古今狂歌袋 (*A bag of kyōka, old and new*) the next year. Many poets who featured in

[180] 後編狂歌五十人一首　彩色摺　近刻: literally '[blocks] to be cut soon'.
[181] Also in *ōhon* format. For explanatory notes and some reproductions of pages from this book, see National Institute of Japanese Literature (2009), p. 54 and p. 92 (based on the copy held in the institute itself under inv. no. ナ2-528); Ōta Kinen Bijutsukan (2008), p. 20 and p.120; Shinjuku rekishi hakubutsukan (2011), p. 28 and p. 100 (the latter two both based on the copy held in the library of Otsuma Women's University, Tokyo, under inv. no. 911-19 Sa 642).
[182] In fact, he also features in the first illustration in *Azumaburi kyōka bunko*, though with a different poem.
[183] Hajintei, according to Hamada, was the name of an extension to his house, that Ōta Nanpo had built around 1785 or 1786. For this reason, Hamada estimates the publication to be of around 1786. (Hamada (1963), p. 293.) Based on a faint remainder of ink in the colophon of the copy held in the National Institute of Japanese Literature, reading Tenmei 5, it is now thought to date from 1785. See National Institute of Japanese Literature (2009), p. 92.

Azumaburi kyōka bunko were also present among the 100 poets in *Kokon kyōka bukuro*. Apart from additional contemporary poets, a good number of 'poets of old' were added.[184]

This is corroborated by a handwritten inscription in a copy of *Kokon kyōka bukuro* kept in the Edo-Tokyo Museum, written by Ōta Nanpo (at that time signing Shokusanjin) in 1815.[185]

Fig. 4. Inscription by Ōta Nanpo/Yomo no Akara (signed 'Shokusanjin') on inside back cover of *Kokon kyōka Bukuro* (1787). Coll. Edo-Tokyo Museum (no inv. no.).

The inscription is dated to the 5th month of the 12th year of the Bunka era (1815), almost thirty years after the initial publication of *Kokon kyōka bukuro*. Nanpo reminisces about the time this book was published: 'First, there was the book *Gojūnin isshu,* then *Hyakunin isshu* was published, both by Kōshodō [Tsutaya Jūzaburō]'. *Gojūnin isshu* is of course *Azumaburi kyōka bunko* discussed above. Nanpo goes on to mention "*Sanjūrokunin kyōkasen"*, referring no doubt to *Kyōka sanjūrokuninsen*, joking that he does not

[184] Among them are Gyōgetsubō and some of the prominent Kamigata *kyōka* poets.
[185] A discovery that Kobayashi Fumiko and I made during research at the Edo-Tokyo Museum. She corrected my transcription and translation of the inscription, for which I take the opportunity to express my gratitude. It was also she who discovered Nanpo's allusion to Bai Juyi's poem.

remember who published the book. Nanpo finishes his inscription with a reference to a poem by the Chinese poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846, in Japan known as Hakurakuten 白楽天), who laments that over the years everything around him has changed, while he remained the same.

Where the simple anthology of 36 poets gathered by Ōta Nanpo appears to be an in-crowd project over it, both luxurious anthologies commercially published by Tsutaya were clearly aimed at a well-to-do readership of *kyōka* enthusiasts who were not necessarily members of the circles of Yadoya no Meshimori, Ōta Nanpo or other pioneering Tenmei *kyōka* poets in the book.

Poetry albums commissioned by the Asakusagawa poetry group

Commercial anthologies such as the two mentioned above are typical for the early stages of the rising popularity of *kyōka* in Edo. Later anthologies are more often based on the poetry composed by members of poetry groups, who had their verses published in deluxe anthologies, more often than not illustrated in full color. Examples of these later, privately commissioned anthologies are a series of annual publications by the Asakusagawa, already mentioned in section 4.1. The initiative of these publications may have been taken by private poetry groups, the production of these books was often done by commercial publishing houses - as explained for the case of *Ehon sumidagawa ryōgan ichiran*.

Kyōka anthologies appear with decreasing frequency after the circa 1804. According to Kobayashi, this is in part due to regulations specifically forbidding color-printed books, issued in the fifth month of 1804.[186] The decrease in *kyōka* anthologies coincides with an increase in with an increase in *surimono* issued in series, as Kobayashi stipulates. The shift is indeed obvious, and the era of deluxe anthologies, published both commercially and privately, is by and large over at the beginning of the Bunka era. This does not mean the complete end of color-illustrated *kyōka* books in general, for later years would witness an increase of rather luxurious, privately issued competition result books.

Anthologies of poetry by a single poet

Anthologies consisting of *kyōka* poems by one poet only are exceedingly rare. The above paragraphs have focused on anthologies selected by one *kyōka* master, though containing poems by various poets. The word anthology also implies, however, the possibility for a publication filled with poems by a single poet. The nature of the genre of *kyōka*, a poetry form that was enjoyed at gatherings where exchange of poetry was key to overall achievement, more or less excludes the demand for anthologies containing the poetry of a single poet. The examples known are usually relatively simple, unillustrated books gathering the best poems of a single renowned *kyōka* master. In most cases, these single-poet anthologies were published at a late stage in the career of such a *kyōka* master. A notable example is *Shokusanjin jihitsu hyakushu kyōka* 蜀山人自筆百首狂歌(*One hundred kyōka poems by Shokusanjin, in his own handwriting*). The title leaves little to the imagination. It is a collection of one hundred poems by

[186] Kobayashi, F. (2005), p. 173 (citing Yuasa, Yoshiko (1995)).

Shokusanjin, as Ōta Nanpo called himself towards the end of his career. He gathered the "most important" poems himself and the anthology was issued privately.[187] It was published in 1818[188] in printed form, though it is unclear who was responsible for the production.[189] This book has survived in various editions, and also in hand-copied versions, of various years, attesting to its popularity. Single-poet anthologies like these are, however, not a common type of *kyōka* book.

3.3.3 Examples of *kyōka* competition result books

***Kyōka sanjūrokkasen*, selected by Rokujuen and Sairaikyo, illustrated by Gakutei**

The book *Kyōka sanjūrokkasen* 狂歌三十六歌僊 ('*Thirty-six immortal* kyōka *poets*') is a good example of a privately commissioned, illustrated competition result book. It contains the results of a *kyōka* competition held at a restaurant in Edo in 1822. This publication is representative of many result books, featuring a fair portion of illustrated pages for the poems that received the highest scores, followed by a section without illustrations reserved for poems that were awarded a lower score. This setup is fairly common, and occurs in *sumizuri* and also in color-illustrated form, the latter especially in the late Bunsei and early Tenpō eras. The concept of the 36 immortal poets, as discussed above, is very commonly adopted in *kyōka*, as a counterpart to the original 36 masters in *waka*.[190] Here, the portraits of 38 *kyōka* poets are presented: the 36 most successful competitors, seated, one on each page, followed by selectors Rokujuen and Sairaikyo Mibutsu 西來居未仏 (n.d.) together on a single page illustration. These last two received their place based on their role as judges, and are listed without points next to their poems. The poems are sorted according to 36 common seasonal topics from nature that were taken as subject, such as mist, *kasumi* 霞, flowers, *hana* 花, willow, *yanagi* 柳, et cetera, ordered from spring through winter, followed by topics related to love, *koi* 戀. The poets who scored the highest points per topic are portrayed in the illustrated pages.

The setup of this publication is as follows. It is a single volume book of 36 sheets in the *hanshibon* format (in this case 22,2 x 15,8 centimeters). The covers appear to have been added later by an owner of

[187] Shinjuku rekishi hakubutsukan (2011), p. 31.Shokusanjin uses the word *zuinō* 髄脳, associated with esoteric transmission in classical poetry, in a short postface. The copy (partly) reproduced and referred to in this catalogue is held in the Tokyo Metropolitan Library (Tokyo Toritsu Toshokan 東京都立図書館). I used the digitally available copy held in the National Institute of Japanese Literature under inv. no. ナ2-37 for reference.
[188] The colophon mentions the "tiger year of Bunka", or Bunka 15, which is now considered Bunsei 1. Apparently, the colophon was written before the new era was proclaimed.
[189] The *Catalogue of early Japanese books* and *Catalogue of early Japanese books in microfilm or digital* at NIJL (accessible through the website of the National Institute of Japanese Literature) mentions Yoshida Shobō 吉田書房 and Seiundō Eibun 青雲堂英文 as publishers, but these appear to have operated in later eras.
[190] Apart from *Kyōka sanjūrokuninsen* of the Tenmei era, another example is *Kyōka sanjūrokkasen* (indeed, the exact same title) issued in 1794. For this book, the poems were selected by Sandara Hōshi 三陀羅法師 (Senshūan 千秋庵, actual name Akamatsu Masatsune 赤松正恒, 1731-1814); the illustrations were done by Katsushika Hokusai. Besides the 36 single portraits of the poets, two more illustrations placed on (three) pages near the beginning of the book feature seven more poet portraits. A copy can for instance be found in the National Diet Library collection, accession no. ワ-22.

this copy, and will not be discussed. The first sheet is not numbered and the recto side functions as an (inside) title page. This page gives the selectors: "Rokujuen sensei 六樹園先生" and "Sairaikyo no ushi 西來居大人"[191], the full title, and the 'gatherers' of the poetry, marked with the character *shū* or *atsumeru* 輯. These gatherers are Gosōken Oriyasu 吾壯軒折安 (n.d.), Morinoya Nakanuki (or Nakatsura) 杜廼屋仲貫 (n.d.), Gyokkōsha Uramasa 玉光舎占正 (n.d.), and Hogotai Atonari 反故堆跡成 (alternatively Hogutai or Hōgutai; n.d.).[192] The verso of this first sheet is left blank. The second sheet (likewise not numbered) features the two-page preface by Rokujuen in which he playfully lists matters that have to do with the number 36; 36 Buddhist priests of the Tendai sect, a carp with 36 scales, the distance between Edo and Nikkō (first Tokugawa shogun Ieyasu's mausoleum) measuring 36 miles(*ri* 里)[193], the 36 immortal poets as established by *Shijō dainagon* 四条大納言 ('Major Counselor of the Fourth Avenue', i.e. Fujiwara Kintō 藤原公任, 966-1041), and finally the fact that 36 *kyōka* poets are gathered in this volume. Sheets one recto through nineteen verso feature elegant and for the most part fairly serious-looking seated portraits of high-scoring poets (fourteen points or over, but usually around nineteen or twenty - out of the possible 30; fifteen per judge), and their poems, with a separate bar of poems by others placed above the illustrations. Sheets nineteen verso through 23 recto feature three landscapes and one lady in an interior (*mihiraki* 見開き, i.e. double-page illustrations), each signed Gakutei (listed in the colophon as "Gakutei Sadaoka"), in *sumi* only, and each accompanied by three poems. Sheets 23 verso through 33 verso feature poems only (between eleven and 21 points, though mostly in the thirteen to sixteen range), some eleven to twelve poems per page. The bar of poems only above the illustrations and the pages without illustration should be regarded as one section, listing all poems per subject, except the top-scoring poem that is printed next to the respective poet's portrait. The last sheet (not numbered) gives the colophon.

The colophon gives some factual information that helps clarify the circumstances of this publication. First, it gives the date and location of the *kaikan* 開巻, literally 'opening of the volume',

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[191] Sairaikyo was a judge in the Gogawa and later headed the Hyōtanren 瓢箪連, Gourd Circle (see KJJ 219). The reading *ushi* (instead of *taijin*) was a common honorific term in *kokugaku* circles, but also sometimes used in *kyōka* circles, to be translated as 'master', much like *sensei*. In/on some *kyōka* materials, the characters 大人 are indeed found to be accompanied by glosses that give the pronunciation as *ushi* (see for instance an informational leaflet in Hōsa bunko collection, Nagoya, inv. no. 加7424-26). Given the fact that Rokujuen was himself a *kokugaku* scholar, I assume that the reading *ushi* is apt here.

[192] Uramasa is mentioned in KJJ, p. 22; Atonari on page 7. The name Hogotai Atonari could be translated as 'That what remains when used paper has piled up'. Kōdansha's *Nihon jinmei daijiten* 日本人名大辞典 [Biographical dictionary of Japan] gives the reading of the name as Hogozumi (as provided by www.kotobank.jp; accessed April 28, 2014). Poems by Nakanuki and Atonari appear together on a *surimono* designed by Gakutei. This *surimono* is part of a luxurious set of five print that depict the '*Five Tiger Generals of the* Suikoden' (*Gokō shōgun* 五虎将軍 - here, the character for five is written with the Gogawa logo, a character five, go 五, stylized to resemble an hourglass). According to Mirviss and Carpenter (1995), p. 80-8, the set was issued c. 1828. Mirviss and Carpenter give the poet's names as Hankotai Atonari and Morinoya Nakanuki.

[193] The *ri* corresponds to c. 3,9 kilometers, which makes 36 *ri* about 140 kilometers. This is indeed more or less the distance between Edo and Nikkō.

meaning the day that the gathered poems were publicly read out and judged: 25th day of the twelfth month, fifth year of Bunsei (1822), at (the restaurant) Shigarakirō 信楽樓. The restaurant is said to have been located in the Yoshiwara entertainment quarter, which is plausible, yet could not be confirmed.[194] The colophon further lists the calligrapher: Hokueishi Sutena 北榮子捨魚 (Otherwise known as Shiseidō 至清堂 Sutena or Morikawa 守川 Sutena, d. 1868 acc. to KJJ, p. 105) [195]; the illustrator: Gakutei Sadaoka 岳亭定岡; the block-cutter: Gyokkōsha Uramasa 玉光舎占正; and the owner of the blocks: Hogotai shujin 反故堆主人.

Based on the information given on title page and colophon, and furthermore from the occurrence of certain poets and their positions within the book, the following can be established with regard to the conception of the publication and participating competitors. The book contains the results of a competition held just once, at a particular venue in Edo, and open to members from various *kyōka* poetry groups. Prominent members or leaders of other poetry groups, though often liaised to the Gogawa, participated. For instance: Dondontei Wataru, leader of the Taikogawa; Senryūtei Karamaru 千柳亭唐丸, foremost *kyōka* judge in Sendai[196]; Fukunoya Uchinari, leader of the Shippōren, Kogetsudō Ichizumi 壷月堂市住, member of the Asakusagawa; Ryūōtei Hananari 柳桜亭花也,[197] et cetera. Another remarkable competitor is the seven year old Mannensha Kamenari 万年者龜成 from Matsuida 松井田 (sheet five recto), son of Shōfūsha Saten 松風舎茶鄽, a (later?) judge of the Shakuyakuteishachū[198] (depicted on sheet fourteen verso). The competition is little bit of a family affair apparently, since Gosōken's mother Shimako 紫麻子 (her portrait features on sheet fifteen recto) also competed. Many of the poems were sent in from cities throughout the Kantō and Kansai regions, such as Osaka, Ueda 上田, Wakayama ワカ山, Miyazaki 宮崎, Takasaki 高サキ, Shirakawa 白川, Iinuma イヒヌマ, Nikkō 日光, Sendai 仙台, Sakai サカヒ, Himeji ヒメチ, et cetera. It is very unlikely that all these poets from outside Edo could be present at the actual meeting. In any case, all competitors had to submit their poems in writing. Living further away from Edo meant a necessity to mail their poems earlier than those living in Edo would have to do, and opportunities for attending actual meetings were fewer. Since the poems were submitted to the judge(s) anonymously, there was - in principle - no advantage or disadvantage for those living further away, at least not in terms of competition.

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[194] As found in a description on an auction site where a copy of this book was being offered for sale: http://aucview.aucfan.com/yahoo/b117870464/. (last access April 18, 2014)

[195] The character used is actually written with *dai* 大 underneath, instead of the four dots representing the tail of the fish (灬).

[196] Senryūtei's increasing prominence on the *kyōka* scene from the Bunka to the Kaei era is discussed in Takahashi (2010).

[197] Mōri Narimoto 毛利斉元 (1794-1836), who became twelfth daimyo of Chōshū 長州 domain, present-day Yamaguchi prefecture, in 1824. He also commissioned many *surimono*, particularly related to kabuki theatre. Also, Ryūōtei Edo no 江戸の Hananari. See Tsuda (2008), pp. 62-71.

[198] KJJ, p. 86.

Since *kyōka sanjūrokkasen* was published privately, funds and means for the publication were generated (largely) by the participants. The fee that was charged for entering in the competition was usually stated on the competition announcement.[199] The combined fees were necessary to cover the various costs that would have presented themselves: renting the venue, compensation for the judges, design and production of the result book, et cetera. The poets listed on the title page had a further facilitating role in the production of the book. They provided assistance, in gathering the poems, preparation of the proofs and even manufacture of the printing blocks. Their contribution with regard to the production was very well appreciated, as evidenced by the fact that not only are they acknowledged in the colophon, the last sixteen spaces in the book are all reserved for their poems. These last sixteen poems are preceded by a circle mark, indicating the special status of these poets within this result book. Some information about these poets can be gathered from *Kyōka suikoden* 狂歌水滸伝 (*'Kyōka Heroes of the Water Margin'*), another *kyōka* publication linked to the Gogawa: Gyokkōsha Uramasa was a pupil of Rokujuen and a professional block-cutter, as is mentioned in the short biography accompanying his portrait.[200] In the same book, Hogotai Atonari is also depicted (sheet 40 verso). He is portrayed sitting in a countryside residence, a river landscape in the background. He sports two swords and a *haori* with large Gogawa crests. His biography mentions him being a pupil of Rokujuen and man of great erudition. Hogotai appears to be a man of wealth, too; perhaps a samurai of high rank. The fact that he is the keeper of the blocks of *kyōka sanjūrokkasen* suggests that he invested (considerably) more funds in the publication than other participants.

The book *kyōka sanjūrokkasen* thus provides a representative example of a competition result book, intended for publication of scores achieved by competing poets, while presenting these poets in portrait form along with the winning poems. It is the result of quite an undertaking, since the publication features only poems that scored eleven points or over. These number around 450. Since the whole range of 1 to 15 points was used by both judges, this may mean that poems receiving between eleven and 30 points represent only two-thirds of the total of submitted poems. The poems that scored ten or less did not make it to the final publication, yet had been gathered, read out loud and judged just like the other poems. The book thus represents an even greater body of poems than is actually published. The number of poets involved in the competition as a whole, the organization and the finances, give an insight into the scale of the *kyōka* world at this stage, a matter that will be further elaborated on in chapter five.

***Shōshikai gazōshū*, selected by Garyōen Umemaro**

Shōshikai gazōshū 尚齒會画像集 (*'Collection of illustrations of the gathering of the elders'*) is a collection of *kyōka* submitted and judged at monthly gatherings of the second month through the ninth month of Bunsei 8, 1825. The poems are judged almost exclusively by Garyōen Umemaro 臥龍園梅麿 (sometimes

[199] For a detailed description of such an announcement, see section 4.2.
[200] Published by the Gogawa in 1822. Uramasa is portrayed in artisan's outfit on sheet 31 verso.

also read Garyūen, 1793-1859, KJJ. p. 26), leader of the Hanazonoren 花園連 ('Flower Garden' group). The term book is perhaps not entirely appropriate for this fascicle[201], as it appears to be incomplete. The front cover is present, yet seems to have been applied later. It does not carry a *daisen*. A preface is lacking, as is a title page. The fascicle, of *hanshibon* format, consists of 88 *chō* filled with some eleven or twelve vertically printed *kyōka* per page. The *hashira* features the logo of the Hanazonoren (a side view of a plum blossom styled from three *hiragana* characters no の[202]), and a numbering that starts at one and runs to 87, the last *chō* lacking numbering. There are no illustrations. There is no separate page with a fixed-format colophon, but the last page does give the title (and the fact that the volume ends here), a date: 'Cut in Bunsei 8, year of the cock, season winter' (文政八酉季冬刻成), and the owner of the blocks - being the Hanazonoren.

The overall setup of this fascicle, divided in months, with the poems per month subdivided by theme, and the poems per theme subdivided according to awarded points, reveals this publication as based on *tsukinamishū*. The publication can in fact be regarded as a collection of *tsukinamishū*, as it assembles the results of the second through the ninth month.[203] The fascicle is, however, not a convolute consisting of separate *tsukinamishū* bound together (which is also commonly encountered). The poems were likely gathered over the months, yet prepared for publication all at once. This is evinced by the fact that the numbering is continuous and new sections per month do not start on new pages.

Every section for a month follows the same pattern. A section starts with the number of the month, followed by the word *kendai* 兼題, 'subject(s)'. Underneath that is the name of the selector: in this case "Garyōen *sen* 臥龍園撰". Then follow the poems, divided per subject. The subject is written in the upper part of the page. Underneath the poems is the *gō* of the composer, sometimes preceded by his or her place of residence. The poems are listed according to points awarded, starting with very few of high merit - the maximum is fifteen, although thirteen or twelve is often the highest score per subject - followed by relatively large quantities of poems that scored ten points, then eight. Poems that scored lower than eight are not listed. To take the section for the ninth month as an example, the total number of poems, 223, divided over seventeen subjects, fills nineteen pages. I estimate the total number of poets to be below one hundred, since many poets appear twice or more under the various subjects. Out of 223 listings, 77 are noted with a place of residence outside Edo. Examples are Sendai (仙タイ), Nikkō (日光), Mito (ミト), Suzumenomiya (雀ノミヤ) and Iinuma (イヒヌマ). The last three poems under the last subject are by Garyōen himself, and are marked with a little circle, placed before the first of the three. The last five poems listed for this month are in the *tōza* section, which was judged by one Seiryūkan 青柳舘. The subject chosen for these poems composed at the scene was *Matsuchiyama bosetsu* 待乳山暮雪

[201] The copy used is the only one known to me, held in the National Institute of Japanese Literature, inv. no. ナ2-130.
[202] Cf. Carpenter (Ed.) (2008), p. 214.
[203] The first month will have been skipped due to New Year's *kyōka* meetings. Why the ninth month is already the last to appear in this volume is unclear to me.

('Evening snow at Matsuchiyama' - the temple complex in Asakusa). The highest score of fifteen points was achieved by Sairaikyo Mibutsu. The last poem of the *tōza* section, too, is by Umemaro, and is again marked with a circle instead of points, since he was - of course - *hors concours*.

It is not entirely clear why the title *Shōshikai gazōshū* was chosen. The word *shōshikai* (sometimes pronounced *shōshie*), designates a gathering of 'elders', who celebrate their old age (and apparently appending wisdom).[204] The subjects treated in the monthly competitions held by the Hanazonoren, however, have little to do with this theme. To take the gathering for the ninth month as an example once again, the subjects treated here are mostly related to the season. For instance, *fuyu dōbutsu* 冬動物 ('winter animals'), *fuyu shokubutsu* 冬植物 ('winter plants'), and *kogarashi* 木枯 ('autumn/winter wind'). Furthermore, the word *gazōshū* fuels the expectation of illustrations, but these are absent in this volume. It is interesting to note, however, that Garyōen's Hanazono poetry circle commissioned a series of *surimono* with the series' title *Shōshikai bantsuzuki* ('A series of elders of poetry') for the year 1821 or 1822.[205] These were designed by Totoya Hokkei, and revolve mainly around famous *waka* poets of old such as Fujiwara Shunzei, Fujiwara Teika, Ono no Tōfū 小野道風 (894-967) and the *renga* 連歌 (linked verse) poet Botanka/Botange Shōhaku 牡丹花肖柏 (1443-1527) (a notable exception is Tomoe Gozen 巴御前 (n.d., late Heian period), who is known better for her military feats). The subject, or at least the title, must have remained popular with the group, yet the link to the poetry in the book that was printed three or four years later is not evident.

In conclusion, the fascicle that goes by the title *Shōshikai gazōshū* provides insights to the workings of a *kyōka* group and its competitions. Like *Kyōka sanjūrokkasen*, it gives an idea of the number of contestants that participated (each month, in this case), how many of them resided outside Edo, and what kind of subjects were treated in the poetry - for the middle of the Bunsei era at least. Furthermore, *Shōshikai gazōshū* also shows that illustrations are by no means omnipresent in *kyōka* books.

3.3.4 Examples of *kyōka* information books

Hama no kisago, edited by Moto no Mokuami

The book *Kyōka hama no kisago* 狂歌濱のきさご, edited by Moto no Mokuami 元木網 (1724-1811), serves as an early example of a *kyōka* information book. It was first published in the spring of the third year of Tenmei (1783), quite early on in the development of Edo *kyōka*, by Tsutaya Jūzaburō in Edo,

[204] According to Alfred Haft's research, the term *shōshi* stems from the Chinese term *shangchi* and is "thought to have originated with the Confucian Classic of Rites (*Liji*, J. *Reiki* [礼記]), but the Chinese poet Bai Juyi (J. Hakurakuten) seems to have first applied it to a cultural gathering in 845 CE, with Japanese aristocrats adopting the idea by 877 CE. (Carpenter (Ed., 2008), pp. 214-215.)

[205] No later than 1822, since three prints from the series are in the collection that Blomhoff brought back from Edo in the summer of 1822: see Kok (2003). Illustrations to be found also in Rappard-Boon and Bruschke-Johnson (2000), p. 165 and Carpenter (Ed., 2008), pp. 214-215.

together with three other book shops from Edo, Osaka and Kyoto.[206] It can be typified as an information book in the sense that it serves as a guide to *kyōka* of classic quality, and works as a manual on how to successfully compose *kyōka* oneself. In Edo*kyōkabon*senshū kankōkai (2007), *Kyōka hama no kisago* is listed as a book in the category of *kyōkaron* 狂歌論, or *kyōka* theory books, that is sometimes used in Japanese terminology.[207] One could also say that it has properties that place it in the category of *ruidaishū* 類題集, books listing superior poems by theme and subject. The term *ruidaishū* is used in Japanese terminology with regard to poetry in general, not specifically *kyōka*. Since I focus on the overarching purpose of informing the (amateur) *kyōka* poet, and since many of these books contain various types of information, I use the term *kyōka* information book without further subdivision.

The title *Kyōka hama no kisago* translates as "*Kyōka* Shells on the Beach"; *kisago* is a sea snail, Lat. *Umbonium moniliferum*, a seasonal poetic word for Spring. The title obviously refers to the guide to *waka* composition that was published under the title *Hama no masago* 濱のまさご ('*Sand on the beach*'). This popular guide to *waka* was edited by traditional poetry master Ariga Chōhaku 有賀長伯 (1661-1737), who was known for his practical poetry guides. Though consisting of seven volumes bound in seven fascicles, it was widely used, especially by beginners, since its first publication in Genroku 10 (1697). *Hama no masago* was reissued many times, and was no doubt known to every *kyōka* poet. The '*kyōka* version' *kyōka hama no kisago* clearly sold well too, for it was reprinted in Kansei 12 (1800), Bunka 6 (1809, two variations known), and again much later, in Meiji 14 (1882).[208]

Kyōka hama no kisago provided very practical tools for enthusiasts to study and compose *kyōka*. The small book (a *kohon* 小本 measuring only c. thirteen to fourteen centimeters in height, depending on the edition) contains the following elements: a preface by Yomo no Akara (Ōta Nanpo),[209] in which he uses the phrase *hama no masago*, a poetic phrase in itself, but undoubtedly referring to the *waka* guide mentioned above. Then a table of contents (*mokuroku* 目録) that list the eighteen sections in which the main content of the book is divided. Before section one begins, however, an elaborate legend (*hanrei* 凡例) of eleven pages gives diverse advice on how to use the book, how to go about composing *kyōka*, followed by examples of some *kyōka* classics, with short, theorizing explanations. At the end of the *hanrei*, there is a short list of words to avoid, and suggested reading, among which the "old" anthologies by Gyōfū, Mitoku and Ikeda Masanori (池田正式, also read Ikeda Seishiki, n.d., a pupil of Matsunaga Teitoku {1571-1653}).

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[206] Information from the database of the National Institute of Japanese Literature. The copy held in Otsuma Women's University, Tokyo, published in or after Kansei 3 (1791), is annotated and transcribed in Edokyōkabonsenshū kankōkai (2007), p. 4-27. I use the copy held in Waseda University Library, a reissue of Kansei 12 (1800) according to the table of contents and the colophon, as a reference (inv. no. へ09 01413; http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/he09/he09_01413/index.html)

[207] Kobayashi, F. (2009), p. 159, uses the term '*kyōka* 'how-to' book', or '*kyōka* etiquette book', 狂歌作法書 *kyōka sahōsho*.

[208] Database of the National Institute of Japanese Literature, and Edokyōkabonsenshū kankōkai (2007), p. 4. The reissues were published by Tsutaya's firm, in collaboration with various other publishers from Edo, Osaka and Nagoya.

[209] It is perhaps for this reason that he is often mistaken for the author of the book.

The *hanrei* is followed by eighteen sections on various poetic themes, starting with "the four seasons" (*shiki* 四季). Then follow various poetic themes such as, "love" (*koi* 恋), several religious subjects, "travel" (*tabi* 旅, specifically the Tōkaidō 東海道). This first section gives only example poems (*hikiuta* 引哥), whereas the next twelve sections also give a list of useful words and phrases from example poems (*hikiuta kotobayose* 引哥言葉よせ). These are sometimes listed according to length (two, three or five syllables), or listed according to first syllable, in the order of the *iroha*. Section fourteen gives an overview of words and phrases that connect well to frequently used subject words, such as mountain, sea, bamboo, shells, bridge, wind, rain, ink stone, et cetera. Section fifteen[210] gives some very practical hints: a table of the preferred forms of *kana* to be used, and an illustration showing the way to fold and inscribe a sheet of paper when submitting a poem (fig. 5). Section sixteen gives hints on the correct typography and orthography of *kana*, such as their relative size in combined syllables. Section seventeen explains the correct usage of particles (*teniwoha*, here shortened to *teniha* 手爾葉). Section eighteen lists the one hundred themes and subjects that appear in the book *Horikawa hyakushudai kyōkashū* 堀川百主首題狂歌集 of 1671, by Ikeda Masanori, that was recommended in the *hanrei*. In the afterword, Moto no Mokuami explains how he "picked up words that are equal in number to grains of sand on the beach [*hama no masago*], and gave this book the title *Hama no kisago*" - again referring to the *waka* handbook that served as an example. He goes on to state that this book should serve as a handbook for beginners who want to compose "*zareuta*". The 1800 reissue contains advertisements that list a supplement ("増補 *zōho*") to *Hama no kisago*, also selected by "the old man" Moto no Mokuami. This *chūhon*-sized volume is mentioned as containing poems that did not make it to the first edition.

[210] The numbers of sections fifteen through eighteen are missing or incorrect in the main body of the book. The contents do, however, correspond with the table of contents.

Fig. 5. How to properly submit a *kyōka* poem, including instructions for folding the paper. From *Hama no kisago* (sheet 45 verso), copy held in Waseda University Library, inv. no. Bunko 18 01027, last sheet recto.

Judging from the existence of various reprint editions, commercial publisher Tsutaya had clearly made a good decision to publish this book. There was a market for this type of practical guide. One might say that this book could work as a counterpart to the deluxe anthologies that Tsutaya also published. On the one hand, *kyōka* enthusiasts could admire the poems of renowned poets, while on the other hand one could teach oneself how to aspire to the same level by studying the *kyōka* guide. In an advert found in another of Kisshū's information books, *kyōka shoshinshō* 狂歌初心抄 ('*Commentaries for beginners in kyōka*'), published, also by Tsutaya, in 1790, *Hama no kisago* is commended as 'A book for beginners [in *kyōka*] to depend on' (*shoshin no tayori to naru hon nari* 初心のたよりとなる本なり).[211] The Kansei 12 reissue of *Hama no kisago* seems to also have been marketed by Tsutaya already during the planning stages, for it appears in a well-known illustration that depicts his shop, found in *Azuma asobi* that came out the year before (fig 5).

[211] Waseda University Library collection, inv. no. Bunko 18 01027, last sheet recto.

Fig. 6. Illustration in *Azuma asobi* (1799), illustrated by Katsushika Hokusai. Depicted is the book shop Kōshodō (Tsutaya Jūzaburō). On the right are announcements for books on sale. To the far right is *Hama no kisago*, listed as "*kyōka yomikata shōsatsu* 狂哥よみかた小冊", meaning 'how to compose *kyōka*, *kohon,* one volume'. Copy held in Waseda University Library, inv. no. チ05_03829.

In conclusion, *kyōka hama no kisago* gives us an insight into the practice of *kyōka* composition from the early Tenmei period onwards. It provides practical advice on how to go about composing *kyōka*, how to write the properly, and how to submit them to a judge or teacher. The selection of example poems also gives an insight into the *kyōka* poets that inspired author/editor Moto no Mokuami: mostly (Kamigata) *kyōka* poets from the early to mid Edo period. The small format of the book clearly indicates that the book was intended for practical use. Furthermore, the fact that such a guide appeared in print indicates that, by the early Tenmei period, *kyōka* composition left the small circles of pioneers who exchanged their knowledge among themselves, and *kyōka* composition was becoming something that enough people aspired to, to justify a printed guide to appear.

***Kyōkakei*, edited by Shikitei Sanba**

There is probably no book that gives more practical information on the world of *kyōka* than *Kyōkakei* 狂歌觿 (*Kyōka lineage*), edited by Shikitei Sanba. It was published and re-published by the firm of

(the late) Tsutaya Jūzaburō, in collaboration with other publishers.[212] It is comprised of two volumes, *shohen* 初編 (*chūhon*, one fascicle, published in 1803) and *kōhen* 後編 (two fascicles, published in 1806). *Kyōkakei* gives very practical information on the leaders and judges of the main *kyōka* poetry groups. Several pieces of information are given per judge: the *dōgō* 堂号 (studio name); a short bibliography; his address (by approximation); ten of his best poems (with subject); one page filled with an overview of seals and signatures, marking habits, and former pen names; followed by a page filled with ten poems that this particular judge values most. This pattern is much the same for all of the three fascicles. In some cases, the page with best valued poems is omitted. Divided over the three fascicles, data is provided for a total of 55 poets (*shohen*: 26 poets, *kōhen* I: fourteen poets, *kōhen* II: fifteen poets). Thus, an aspiring poet had access to inside information to the style and taste of many judges, and could adapt his or her own style to better suit a particular judge, whether at a contest or when requesting membership of a group where this particular judge was part of. In Edo*kyōkabon*senshū kankōkai (2007), *Kyōkakei* is listed as a book in the category of *meikan* 名鑑, or 'mirror [overview] of names' that is sometimes used in Japanese terminology. Just like in the case of *Hama no kisago*, one could also say that it has properties that place it in the category of *ruidaishū* 類題集, books listing superior poems by theme and subject. Again, for reasons of clarity, I use the word *kyōka* information book without further subdivision.

Shikitei Sanba was a famous Edoite in his time. Not only because he wrote many popular books,[213] he also owned a drugstore in the Honchō district of Edo, where he sold mainly a home-made lotion called *Edo no mizu* ('Edo water').[214] Sanba is hardly if ever found in *kyōka* competition result books, but apparently he has a good overview of the *kyōka* world and the foremost players in it and he feels confident enough to edit a book on *kyōka* poets and their practices in judging poetry. Judging from the wealth of information, it seems that Sanba met with, or at least corresponded with, all the poets who featured in his *Kyōkakei* issues. Otherwise, one would say, he wouldn't have been able to gather their personal handwriting as well as signatures, logos and favorite poems.

Kyōkakei was an apparent success. In the following years, the book was not only reissued, follow-up publications also came to the market. In 1816, *Haikaikakei* 俳諧歌觿 ('*Haikaika lineage*') was published, largely set up along the lines of *Kyōkakei*.[215] This book was also edited by Shikitei Sanba. The publisher

[212] The first edition is unknown to me. Later editions are published by Tsutaya and several publishers from the major cities. I therefore assume that the first edition was also published by Tsutaya, perhaps together with other publishers. The copies known today are of the *chūhon* format - most about 19 centimeters in height - but it is not clear whether the unknown first edition was also of the *chūhon* format. For reference, I use the copies presented in Edokyōkabonsenshū kankōkai (2007), p. 115-184 (held in the National Diet Library), the copies held in the Waseda University Library (http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/he09/he09_02839_0001/index.html, inv. no. 〳09 02839 0001 and http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/he09/he09_02839_0002/index.html, inv. no. 〳09 02839 0002).

[213] Leutner, Robert W. (1985).

[214] Edo no mizu supposedly made *oshiroi* おしろい, whitening powder for the face, stick better to the skin. The very shop sign of this drugstore that Sanba ran from 1812 has survived; see Ishikawa and Ishiyama (2006), p. 71.

[215] Presented in Edokyōkabonsenshū kankōkai (2007), p. 259-326. The term *haikaika*, otherwise pronounced *haikai* (no) uta, was used as an alternative for the term *kyōka*, referring to section nineteen of *Kokin wakashū*,

was Yorozuya Tajiemon (Rankōdō) 萬屋太次右衛門 (蘭香堂) (n.d.), who published more of Sanba's works, in collaboration with Nishinomiya Yahee 西宮弥兵衛 (n.d.). He had also collaborated on the publication of *Kyōkakei*, and acted as owner of the copyright, since he was keeper of the blocks. In the advertisements in volume two,[216] an announcement is made for volumes three and four of *Haikaikakei* to be issued. These are, however, not known to exist. Furthermore, a complete "re-selected" edition of *Kyōkakei*, in five fascicles, is also announced. *Kyōkakei* in its original setup, with volume one in one fascicle and volume two in two fascicles, is also still available through Yorozuya, according to the advertisements. Sanba's book was clearly a steady seller, though it apparently needed updates to keep up with the developments in the world of *kyōka*.

The formula used by Sanba was successful, and was copied in later years. In 1837, *Shin kyōkakei* 新狂歌觿 ('*New kyōka lineage*') was published.[217] This book was not edited by Shikitei Sanba, but by Shakuyakutei Nagane. Furthermore, it appears to have been published privately. At least, no colophon is known to exist, and clues as to who may have published this book are absent. *Shin kyōkakei* consists of two volumes, bound in a total of four fascicles. Nagane, one the foremost judges around this time, gives credits to "Shikitei's *Kyōkakei*" in the preface. For good reason, because the book completely follows the setup that Sanba devised.

The difference between *kyōka hama no kisago* and *Kyōkakei* and its derivatives is the obvious emphasis on the persons on the *kyōka* scene, rather than the poetry itself. To use a popular phrase: "It is not about what you know - it is about who you know." *Kyōkakei* provided practical information on how to be successful in the world of *kyōka*, more than how to be successful at *kyōka* composition as such. This, in essence, typifies the changes that the genre of *kyōka* went through over the years. Despite the differences in information given, both *kyōka hama no kisago* and *Kyōkakei* serve as examples of *kyōka* information books as a separate type of *kyōka* book, that met the demand for useful information among amateur poets.

3.3.5 Conclusion on functions and categories

Despite the various differences in appearance between *kyōka* books from different decades, strong similarities in specific reappearing elements of content matter have lead me to distinguish three categories in *kyōka* books; The '*kyōka* anthology', the 'competition result book' and the '*kyōka* information book'. This division is based on the functions of the various *kyōka* books. The three categories are illustrated with the use of examples from different moments in the evolution of Edo *kyōka*. These examples show both constants and variations that occur over time. The variations reflect the overall evolution of the *kyōka* world. Thus, the distinction of categories allows for a clearer definition of general *kyōka* practice and the *kyōka* audience in earlier and later stages of its development. Furthermore, the proposed division

where the term was applied to 'unconventional verses'. The term *haikaika* was favored by Yomo Utagaki Magao; as explained by McKee (2006), p. 20.

[216] Found in the copy presented in Edokyōkabonsenshū kankōkai (2007), held in the National Institute of Japanese Literature.

[217] Presented in Edokyōkabonsenshū kankōkai (2007), p. 185-257.

in categories allows for a clearer understanding of the functions of *kyōka* books presented in other publications.

3.4 Conclusions *kyōkabon*

Kyōkabon are the outcome of a development towards recording poems of a certain quality. Despite the fact that the genre of *kyōka* stems from a less than serious approach to poetry, the fact that *kyōka* were recorded attests to the fact that the quality of certain *kyōka* poems was recognized and appreciated. For *kyōka* poets of any era, recording poetry was a natural thing to do. The poets were after all generally well-educated and well-read. The step to publication is not very large, especially when it concerns manuscripts. When printed publications became available to ever larger strata of the population, *kyōka* written by poets from Edo soon emerged in various forms of print. Woodblock prints carrying *kyōka* poetry - i.e. *Kyōkasurimono* - were as a rule exclusively privately commissioned. Books, on the other hand, were also marketed commercially. *Kyōka* as a genre was well-represented in the publication landscape. Prints and books carrying *kyōka* may account for only a small portion of the total production of printed materials, the average quality is high.

The investigation of *kyōka* books greatly contributes to our understanding of the actions of *kyōka* poets and poetry groups, and thereby discloses a social aspect that is hardly apprehensible from *surimono* alone. The various elements, such as prefaces, illustrations, poetry sections and colophons contain information on intentions on the part of *kyōka* masters and their followers. *Kyōka* books range from relatively simple, unassuming publications to lusciously color-illustrated deluxe publications, depending on their functions and intended readership. A defining characteristic of the genre is the relatively large percentage of privately commissioned publications, especially from the late stages of *kyōka* popularity. These private publications were made possible by the well-organized *kyōka* poetry groups, and the relative wealth of members of these groups - or at least the wealth generated by the group as an entity.

The investigation of *kyōka* books also contributes to our understanding of the evolution of *kyōka* as a genre. The identification of three distinctive categories within *kyōka* books helps make the changes in the world of *kyōka* visible. Shifts in publication numbers for *kyōka* books of the respective categories reflect shifts in *kyōka* practice and audience. For example, the partial shift from commercial publications to non-commercial publications can be regarded as a result of the increasing popularization of *kyōka*. The *kyōka* world is as it were a lot more open to amateurs who wish to participate in this literary activity. The relation between the poet and the audience changes, also because information on how to compose better *kyōka*, and information on how to behave in *kyōka* circles is disseminated through *kyōkabon*. The rising numbers of publications and the rising numbers of poets listed in competition result books are testament to the increasing number of *kyōka* enthusiasts. The poetic themes and illustrations shed light on the cultural interests of *kyōka* poets. This aspect will be further elaborated on in chapter six, but it suffices to state here that changes in the nature of *kyōka* as a poetic genre are also reflected in the illustrations in *kyōka* books.

3.5 Conclusions to introduction of research material *surimono* and *kyōka* books

The premise of this thesis is that in order to understand *surimono* as the outcomes of a large-scale network activity on the one hand, and a specific cultural current on the other, it is necessary to investigate not only the *surimono* themselves, but also *kyōka* books, for the latter provide additional data that cannot be obtained from *surimono* alone. In the previous and the current chapter, therefore, the main research materials treated in this dissertation, *surimono* and *kyōkabon*, have been introduced. The outline, categorizations and examples given for both are intended as general explanation, yet also cater to the specific use of these research materials with regard to the questions posed in this thesis. As I have stated above, *surimono* have received considerable scholarly attention outside Japan, yet for the case of *kyōka* books, a more elaborate treatment - especially concerning content rather than form - was lacking. The introduction of *surimono* and *kyōka* books will serve as a foundation for my argumentation in the following chapters, and will be frequently referred back to.

In order to study how the *kyōka* poetry networks functioned, subject of the next chapter, *surimono* and *kyōka* books cannot be regarded in isolation. It is clear from *surimono*, in particular from large *surimono* carrying many poets' names and *surimono* issued in series carrying poetry circle logos, that there is a system of group affiliations. The data that can be extracted from *surimono* alone, does not paint the whole picture. *Kyōka* books, presented and explained in chapter four, are the key to understanding the way in which *kyōka* groups functioned. *Kyōka* books are complex material too, and have therefore received a dedicated dissection and categorization. The data, both textual and visual, extracted from *kyōka* books provides the means to uncover the networks of *kyōka* poets and their activities. The functions of books in the respective categories I have proposed correspond to demands from the larger *kyōka* society that, again, are not fully clear from studying *surimono* alone. *Kyōka* books are the foremost research material for the investigation of *kyōka* networks. When researched in connection to *surimono* series, it becomes possible to understand the various poetry network projects, the stratification between poets, and how *surimono* should be regarded within the total output of *kyōka* networks.

Form and content of *surimono* and *kyōka* books provide different information on the way in which *kyōka* poets handled classical themes and voiced their cultural nostalgia; the subject of chapter five. The intricate text-image relations in *surimono* serve as examples of how classical content was (re-)interpreted, whereas *kyōka* books rather give information of the form that poets adopted for their organizations and practices. *Surimono*, specifically series of *surimono* that take literary classics as a theme, provide us with visual and textual data on the reception and reconsideration of literary history, be it Japanese or Chinese. *Kyōka* books, on the other hand, allow for a study of the custom of emulating classical poetry gatherings. This is not to say that the form of *surimono* is of no importance to this study - on the contrary: the material qualities, shape, iconography, et cetera. are in turn related to the theme of reception of the classics. The same is true for the content of *kyōka* books: the titles, themes chosen, the subjects of illustrations, et cetera. reflect the thematic interests of *kyōka* poets. Both content and form of *surimono* as well as *kyōka* books will therefore be used for further investigation of how *kyōka* as a popular poetic genre reflects the literary and cultural interests of those involved.

Chapter 4: Expanding circles: *kyōka* networks

4.1 Introduction

A new literary vogue in Edo in small circles

The world of *kyōka* is one of social connections. The sudden success of *kyōka* in Edo can be attributed to the fact that the genre provided an opportunity for cultivated people to connect and collectively enjoy a mix of literature, clever wordings, competition, cultural tradition, and social interaction. These were the ingredients in the early days of Edo *kyōka* and, despite a shifting emphasis, these ingredients were still in the mix near the end of the genre's popularity. A small circle of pioneering poets soon attracted an increasing following. Poetry masters later branched off and formed new circles, though always maintaining connections to other circles of the same era. Rarely does one find *kyōka*-related materials that do not display some kind of proof of an underlying network. Those networks are apparent in *surimono* and *kyōkabon* that feature poets belonging to different circles. *Surimono* albums, for instance, document personal connections between poets.[218]

Competition poetry: the essence of *kyōka* practice

The cultural tradition of convening for the composition, judgment and enjoyment of poetry was strongly present in *kyōka* gatherings. *Kyōka* may have started out as a new literary vogue, yet in terms of execution - both in its poetic form and in its formulaic style of gathering - *kyōka* soon conformed to standards set in previous centuries. There is an obvious preoccupation with scores, especially in 1820s thru 1840s. Competition announcement flyers of those decades tell us that high scores resulted in many benefits: prizes were awarded, chances of being published increased, books were handed out free of charge to those who made the cut, and one could climb in the ranks. At gatherings, competing poets saw eye-to-eye; who are the opponents? How strong is the competition and what are the rankings? Gatherings were also events that attested to the scope of the network. Despite the genre of *kyōka* hinging on strong competition among poets, in essence all participants - often from all over the nation - contributed to the same cultural movement.

Scale of the *kyōka* world

What had started as an unorganized group of jaunty poets evolved into a nationwide society

[218] Other primary material that comes to mind is paintings on silk incorporating *kyōka* poems, written by major poets in their own handwriting. A number of these are known, for instance painted by *surimono* designers such as Kubo Shunman, Ryūryūkyo Shinsai, or Katsushika Hokusai. Even when these are inscribed by various *kyōka* masters, such as the example in the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, The Netherlands (inv. no. 6044-1), it is not known whether these poets were all present on one occasion and inscribed the painting then and there. Another possibility is that a painting circulated among these *kyōka* masters for a while before returning to the artist. Also, the function of these paintings is not exactly known. A possibility is that such paintings served as prizes to be won in a *kyōka* competition. Thus, such paintings seem to document personal connections, but for lack of certainty with regard to their conception, will not be considered here.

over the period of a mere decade. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the genre operated at an impressive scale. This expansion is reflected in the prints and books that were published. Owing to present-day online databases, it is possible to provide some actual numbers, both absolute and relative, to substantiate this statement. Once the growth of the *kyōka* world is visualized, it is possible to make a comparison to the publishing activities in other poetry genres. Moreover, establishing a growth line helps to understand the relative weight of *kyōka* publications of a particular year. For instance, one *surimono* of the Kansei era featuring a list of fifteen poets can be understood to represent - percentage-wise - a relatively larger portion of the *kyōka* world than a complete series of *surimono* of the Bunsei era that features 50 poets, since the overall *kyōka* world had become so much larger by that time. Understanding the evolving scale of *kyōka* puts the material output in perspective.

Connections between people, on various levels

Kyōka allowed participants to shape social bonds outside the family, professional or geographical vicinity. The often repeated statement that the genre created an environment in which social standing was of no consequence needs to be critically reviewed. Indeed, *kyōka* materials contain proof of the fact that different social groups interacted through the activities generated by *kyōka* circles and networks. The same materials, however, can and should be presented as proof of the assumption that boundaries of class and status were not entirely eclipsed. This investigation first requires an outline of how class, status and social identity were defined during the late Edo period. This approach results in an enhanced understanding of what it was that connected *kyōka* poets, and what continued to separate them.

(Personal) Social connections

Kyōka books and series of *surimono* offer information on the general circumstances of connections between poets in circles and networks. One could say that each poet was part of a circle, thereby part of a network of interconnected circles, and eventually part of the entire *kyōka* society - by which I mean the combined total of all people actively involved in *kyōka*. Being listed on a *banzuke* confirmed a poet's ranking within a circle, featuring in a *kyōka* book that circulated in the network confirmed a poet's position in that network. Being presented in a more general information book - perhaps commercially published even - can be seen as confirmation of a poet's importance in the entire *kyōka* society.

There is less material available to provide an insight into the personal connections of a single poet. Granted, privately issued single *surimono*, of the kind we mostly encounter before 1800, do give some idea of direct personal connections between fellow poets who appear together on these prints. More complete data on personal connections is found in *surimono* albums, of which a small number survive intact. Through the prints collected in such albums, and the connections they represent, it is possible to plot the position of a poet within his or her circle, in networks and in the larger *kyōka* society. Other than most printed *kyōka* materials - numerous though they may be - albums offer case-by-case information from the perspective of a single poet.

In this chapter, the network structure behind the *kyōka* genre will be discussed, supported by representative examples of the variety of *kyōka* materials specified above. It is through the investigation of a combination of primary materials that the workings of the *kyōka* competition become evident. The system of *kyōka* masters, their circles, and networks of circles as such does not seem to go through major changes, although the level of organization certainly rises. The evolution of *kyōka* society in terms of scale provides the necessary perspective on the relative impact of the genre at advancing stages of its development. It is in the light of these circumstances that the social and personal connections can be investigated, all with the ultimate aim of understanding how these networks functioned.

4.2 Competition: The essence of *kyōka* practice

4.2.1 Historic background of poetry competition

A constant factor in the history of Japanese poetry is its competitive element. When *kyōka* became popular, it had been common for many centuries to gather for a poetry match and recite poems. The center of these activities was the imperial court. Traditionally, *waka* poems were often judged by poetry masters who presided over the gatherings, judges providing a motivation for their rulings. The traditionally rather fixed nature of poetic conventions provided the possibility of judging the (technical) quality of poems somewhat regardless of personal taste.

Kyōka poets continued, or perhaps I should say mimicked this tradition to a great extent. *Kyōka* matches, *kyōka awase* 狂歌合, were similar in form to traditional *uta awase*. The organization of *kyōka awase* becomes more institutionalized some decades into its renewed popularity in Edo, in congruence with the growth in participation numbers. It is noteworthy that the genre that first seemed bent on throwing traditional rules with regard to poetry out the window later appears to conform to the very traditions shaped over centuries. I use the word 'appears', since a comparison of the objectives of a classical *uta awase* with those of a late-Edo *kyōka awase* reveals many differences. In aspects of form, surely, the latter resembles the former. While both could be said to represent a form of collective literary appreciation, both also differ considerably in terms of practicalities, poetic content, and sentiments that are aimed for.

A major difference between classical gatherings and *kyōka* competitions is the strong emphasis on individual scores in the latter.[219] The competitive element is specifically present in *kyōka* materials of the 1820s and 1830s. The system for keeping scores ensured that the qualities of participating poets could be calculated with mathematical precision. This not only applies to single occasion competitions. Points received by poets competing during an entire year of monthly *kyōka* competitions would be meticulously recorded. This meant individual poet's qualities could be measured, and poets could be ranked accordingly

[219] As I have mentioned before, this tendency is also seen in *haikai* circles. A further comparison of emphasis on individual scoring between *kyōka* and *haikai* is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis - and beside the point here.

(treatment of the related primary materials follows in the sections below). For the participating poets this meant being able to monitor personal progress. In spite of the mechanism geared towards objective ruling, taste matters of course, also in *kyōka*. Judges will not have been able to judge the poems submitted to them completely objectively. Within the genre of *kyōka*, different schools and currents existed - hence the listing of individual *kyōka* judges' favorite poems in *Kyōkakei* (see section 3.3.4) - and surprising variations in scores can be seen in the number of points awarded to one and the same poem by two separate judges who judged at the same poetry match. Competition result books as presented in the previous chapter make this abundantly clear.

4.2.2 Competition announcements: much to be won

For *kyōka* enthusiasts, competition events offered many enticements. Leading up to competition day, there was the apprehension of submitting poems and hoping scores would be favorable. The day itself saw the excitement of donning an appropriate outfit, engaging in a sort of cultural role-playing even, savoring cultural roots and interacting with kindred spirits. The main climax was no doubt the moment when one's poem was read out loud before the judge(s) - if it was good enough to deserve mention at all - and hearing the subsequent comments on its quality as *kyōka*. High scores meant being awarded a spot in the intended publication - the better the scores, the better the position. Scores could also be of influence on the general ranking for that poetry season. Receiving high scores at such events also translated to an approval of sorts, a confirmation received from figures with a distinct aura of cultural and social standing, the poetry masters. Furthermore, prizes, for instance a deluxe wrapping cloth (*furoshiki* 風呂敷) or writing box (*suzuribako* 硯箱), were to be won for those who scored above a certain fixed number of points.[220] The spoils, therefore, were both tangible and intangible.

An entry fee was charged for most competition events. With the advancing level of organization, financial systems surrounding the competition became ever more fixed as well. Ōta Nanpo, in one of his essays, mentions the poetry master Hamabe no Kurohito 濱邊(浜辺)黒人 (1720-1790, KJJ. p. 67) as the first to charge a fee to competing poets, in order to be able to cover publication costs.[221] Kurohito called this fee '*irebana* 入花', literally 'attaching a flower ' (as one would to a gift). The word *irebana* became the standard term for the fees charged for competition entry and can be found on many competition announcements up until the Tenpō era. These announcements, most surviving examples dating from the Bunsei and early Tenpō eras, provide useful data on the practicalities of the *kyōka* competition. Poets commonly paid a fixed price to enjoy the matters mentioned above. Competitions were held at the

[220] Maruyama (1978), p. 71.

[221] As explained in Ōta's *zuihitsu* (essays) Yakkodako (奴師労之, or 奴凧, the title commonly translated as '*Footman Kite*') of 1818. See Suga (1936/I), p. 266; Hamada (1963), p. 269-272. According to KJJ, the name Hamabe no Kurohito is a nickname give to him because he always wore black clothes and dyed his teeth black as well. People used to call him 'black all the way to the teeth' (*ha made kurohito* 歯まで黒人). From there, it is a small step to Hamabe no Kurohito, 'the blackened man from the coast', an allusion to the classical poet Yamabe no Akahito 山部赤人 or 山辺(邊)赤人 (d. 736?) literally 'the red man from the mountain side').

residences of major poets or, in the case of larger events, at venues such as restaurants. In the latter case, the venue also had to be paid for. The *irebana*, therefore, came to cover more than just publication costs.[222]

In order to substantiate the points raised in the previous paragraphs, let us take a look at the material specifications and contents of competition announcements. First off, an important study of both competition announcements and ranking tables that were produced based on the competition scores, is an article by Maruyama Kazuhiko 丸山一彦 (1978). Maruyama uses the word leaflet, *chirashi* ちらし, to refer to these announcements. This word appears also in a contemporaneous preface written by Shikitei Sanba, and seems to have been the word used at the time.[223] *Kyōka awase* announcements, just like ranking tables, were of a relatively fragile nature and had only the short-term purpose of notification and the slightly longer-term purpose of recording rankings respectively, which is why not many of these leaflets survive. Maruyama was able to study as many as 43 announcements and eleven ranking tables from between c. 1820 and 1855 (most from the late Bunsei era); I have been able to investigate just six announcements, yet 33 ranking tables, all from between c. 1832 and 1861 (the announcements mostly from the early Tenpō era, the ranking tables mostly from around the Kaei era).

Kyōka awase announcements were printed on one sheet of paper, printed in black ink and from one block only. They commonly measure c. 32 x c. 23 centimetres, or twice that size, c. 46 x c. 32 centimetres. These leaflets, flyers if you will, carried all the necessary information for poets to see whether they wished to compete and if so, where and when they should submit their poems, where to gather, what it would cost, and what kind of scores were required to get published. Commonly, somewhere in the top middle we find a promotional blurb by the main judge, in which choice for the theme is explained, or where a certain type of poem is advocated for that meeting. In the bottom half of the announcement we often find a list of collaborating clubs with their place of origin. The competition announcements that survive are mainly from the Bunsei era and onward, when the meetings are more institutionalized. Announcements were distributed for both monthly *tsukinami* competition meetings and single occasion events.

[222] As explained by Ishikawa (2011), p. 337-363. It must be noted that some competitions, for instance in honor of a deceased poetry master, required no entry fee. In that case, the number of poems to be submitted is usually limited to three per poet. See also Maruyama (1978), p. 70.
[223] In the preface to the book *Kyōka yomibito nayose saiken ki* that came out in 1818. See transcription in Kobayashi, F. (2002), p. 229. More on this *kyōka* book in section 4.3. Other words used for announcements include 題摺 *daisuri* ('printing of the subject(s)'), and 報条 *hōjō* ('advertisement').

Fig. 7. *Kyōka* competition announcement for a single event competition organized by Kaien Umeaki. Coll. Ōtsuma Women's University (no inv. no.).

The *kyōka* competition announcement above (fig. 7) serves as an example of an invitation to compete, as well as an informational sheet that provides information to poets on the specifics of the contest.[224] On the right hand side is the title given to this contest: 狂歌十評英雄集一會大相撲立 *Kyōka jippyō eiyūshū ikkai ōzumōdate*, which translates to 'Collection of *kyōka* heroes, judged by ten [judges], one time only grand sumō match'. The word *sumō*, sometimes read *sumai* is used since early on in the popularity of *kyōka* in Edo, to signify matches. As is common on these announcements, the word for 'one time', *ikkai*, means it concerns a single occasion competition event. The title *Kyōka jippyō eiyūshū* also served as the title for the ensuing competition result book as well as the accompanying ranking table, which are both known to survive in the Hōsa Bunko 蓬左文庫 collection in Nagoya.[225] The databases of the National Institute of Japanese Literature provide some information: the book was edited by Kaien Umeaki 檜園梅明 (1792-1858, also known as Tatsunomon 龍廼門 Umeaki, KJJ. p. 24) 'around the Tenpō era'. Most likely Tenpō 3 (1832), since the ranking table was dated to that year, according to the database. In essence these three documents make up a complete set of printed materials related to a singular competition event: the announcement, the ranking table with a listing of the results, and the

[224] Ōtsuma Women's University collection, no inventory number.
[225] I have been not been able to study the actual result book nor the ranking table myself, but I rely on the information kindly transmitted to me by Dr. Makino Satoshi, who viewed photocopies supplied by Hōsa bunko.

published competition result book.

The announcement reveals more information on the organization of the meeting. To the left of the title, we find the listing of themes, judges and editors, which takes up about two thirds of the announcement surface. The contestants are divided into two sides, the 'team of the left' and the 'team of the right', which is commonly, though not always the case. The subjects for the left are 'spring', 'summer', and 'love'. Those for the right are 'autumn', 'winter', 'miscellaneous'. To the left of each list of judges is the remark that there are 500 prizes to be handed out to those who score ten points or over (with one of the judges). Each side is judged by five judges, ten in total - hence the title. None of these judges are particularly well-known, at least not anywhere near the eight 'proofreaders', *kōgyō* 校合, who are listed below. Apparently, these proofreaders oversee the final publication and rank above all others. The list, from right to left, consists of Shakuyakutei (Nagane), Hōshitei 宝市亭 (Masunari 升成, n.d., KJJ. p. 208), Ume[no]ya 梅屋 (Tsuruko or Kakushi 鶴子, 1800-1864 KJJ. p. 138), Bunbunsha 文々舎 (Kanikomaru 蟹子丸, 1780-1837, KJJ. p. 51), Garyōen 臥龍園 (Umemaro), Sensōan 浅草庵 (III, Harumura 春村, 1799-1867, KJJ. p. 175), Hanasakian 花咲庵 (Yonemori, 1781-1848, KJJ. p. 243), Chigusaan 千種庵 (II, Moromochi 諸持, 1791-1858, KJJ. p. 103). Each of these is known from multiple *kyōka* books, *surimono* and other related materials. The involvement of these *kyōka* heavyweights no doubt attracted many (paying) competitors.

The remaining one third of the sheet is reserved for practicalities. The short text mentions that one needs to score a total of at least 28 points, with at least two scores of ten or higher, for a poem to be published. Those who do will be presented with the 'printed' result book, which comes 'in an envelope'. The *banzuke* and prizes for those who scored ten points or over from each of the judges will be handed out 'on the day itself'. Poems to be handed in by 25th of the second month at the latest, 'opening of the volume', *kaikan* 開巻, i.e. reading aloud of the submitted poems (that received high scores), on the day that the actual meeting takes place, which is set on the 20th of the third month. This time in between deadline and the day of the contest is necessary for gathering all the submissions, producing an anonymized copy[226], scoring by the (large number of) judges, and preparing and printing the ranking table.[227] The actual result book includes a *tōza* section, which indicates that final editing and printing were done after the competition event. Even if this had not been clear, it would have been highly unlikely - given the short time span - that the publication had gone through all the stages of editing, drafting of illustrations, copying all poems and illustrations into the fixed layout, cutting of the blocks, printing, and

[226] *Seisho* 清書 or *seishokan* 清書巻 (literally 'clean book'/ 'cleanly written volume'). It is this 'volume' that is 'opened' on the gathering day. Illustrations of *kyōka* gatherings often depict the presiding *kyōka* master reading from this volume (such as in *Kyōka nihon fudoki*, where Gakutei is seen seated behind a low able on which the manuscript is placed. See Kok (2010), p. 69). In this case, the *seisho* is stated to be the responsibility of Kaizankyo Hideaki 檜山居秀明 (n.d.). (Based on the characters in this poet's name, likely a pupil of Umeaki's.)
[227] The time between deadline and gathering day varies, likely depending on the scale of the event. See Maruyama (1978).

binding. This means that the final publication was likely distributed through the same system of gathering poems, in reverse direction. Poems could be submitted in five locations. One of these was the residence of Shinkadō 神歌堂, being the *kyōka* name of *surimono* designer Gakutei Sadaoka, in Ōsaka. Poems could also be handed in in Nagoya, Sendai and two locations in Edo. One of these was operated by Shun'yūtei Umehide 春友亭梅秀 (n.d., KJJ. p. 24), son of the main organizer, Umeaki, who is listed all the way in the bottom left. The place of gathering for the *kyōka* contest announced on the flyer under scrutiny here is the establishment Kawachiya in Yanagibashi, a district known for its restaurants.

The cost for entering in this large-scale competition: two silver *monme* 匁 for four poems.[228] Given the complicated currency system and fluctuating exchange rates of the Edo period, it is difficult to make an estimate as to the value of two *monme* at the time. A contemporary source does give some idea of what could be purchased for that sum: a small saw cost 2 *monme* 5 *bu* (effectively 2,5 *monme*); a small Bizen ware (*Bizen'yaki* 備前焼) *sake* jar ran 2 *monme* 8 *bu*; two "tobacco containers" for two *monme*.[229] Whether paying two *monme* for entering a *kyōka* contest was expensive depends entirely on the outcome. For those who scored well, received congratulatory gifts and the honor of seeing their poems published on the ranking table and in the result book, it was likely a good deal. Somewhat akin to a lottery, those who scored too low to receive any rewards, must afterwards have thought they could have bought a nice little *sake* jar for the same money. And yet, the fact that so many of these contests were held throughout the year must be regarded as proof of the fact that enthusiastic poets gladly paid the required sum to enjoy the excitement, the cultural interaction, and the proximity to fame at these events. In fact, some poets may have increased their chances by submitting a larger number of poems. Another announcement, for a contest held in the fourth month of 1832 and judged by Shakuyakutei Nagane, not only mentions a fee of 3 *monme* per three poems (twice the price of the previous example), it also suggests the offers of submitting fifteen poems for 1 *nanryō* 南鐐 (*nishugin* 二朱銀), which corresponds to some 7,5 *monme* - about half the price per submitted poem.[230] The relatively high fees are explained by the fact that this concerns an illustrated book, with Yanagawa Shigenobu responsible for the "detailed designs in color". Based on numbers found by

[228] Submitting a parody on an existing poem, *kaeuta* 替歌, was priced at three silver *bu* 分; three tenths of a *monme*.

[229] As quoted in Vaporis (1997), table 4. This source dates to 1833 and pertains to Edo prices, which should make it at least reasonably accurate. Table 3 in the same article dates two 1828-1829 and lists among other things a leaf-shaped ink stone for 2 *monme*.

[230] Announcement in the Ōtsuma Women's University collection, no inventory number. Title: 狂歌劇場百首 *Kyōka shibai hyakushu* ('*One hundred poems of the* kyōka *theatre*'). The announcement states that 100 poems by Shakuyakutei will be added to the competition result book. A copy of the book survives in the Hōsa collection, Nagoya, inventory number 尾20-12. Not all competitions were aimed at producing a result book; some resulted in the commissioning of a wooden votive tablet, *hōgaku* 奉額, inscribed with the winning poems, to be donated to shrines in the hopes of securing enduring recognition. See Maruyama (1978), p. 64. Examples of stone steles, *sekihi* 石碑, engraved with *kyōka* are also to be found at temples. Makino Satoshi kindly pointed out one example to me at Sensōji temple 浅草寺, Tokyo. Such steles were likely also the result of similarly organized poetry events. These materials are, however, beyond the scope of this thesis.

Maruyama for two contests, it appears that poets on average submitted around seven poems.[231]

The above may serve to illustrate two points. First of all, the *kyōka* society of the Bunsei and Tenpō eras was very much focused on competition. This focus is rooted in a traditional approach to poetry and not unique to *kyōka*. Second, poets were willing to invest considerable entry fees to be part of the competition. Engaging in a popular literary pastime, the recognition, the possibility of being published, the prizes to be won, and the proximity to fame were all powerful incentives that contributed to the justification of the financial investment. The competitive element is what attracted poets and their combined financial means in turn propelled the *kyōka* competition and its system of leaders and followers, events and publications.

4.2.3 Gathering: visibility of the network

Gathering days were the basis of poetry appreciation, in *kyōka* as much as many if not most other Japanese poetry traditions. Such events provided occasions for composition and instant delivery to fellow poets and audience, immediate appraisal and inspiration back and forth. The word *awase* itself captures much of this concept. It is derived from the verb *au* 合う, 'to meet'. Its causative form, *awaseru*, can literally be translated as 'to make meet'. The basic meanings of *awaseru*, thus, are 'to match', 'to compare'; *uta awase* therefore can be read as 'matching poems against each other'. I have pointed out the social implications of this approach to poetry and literary appreciation before. The aspect that I will treat here is the fact that (*kyōka*) *awase* on the one hand shaped networks of poets, and on the other hand made the network visible to individual members of the network.

The evolution of *kyōka* poetry and poetry groups leads me to distinguish three stages in the development of gatherings, in terms of network reach and density. These stages also represent a gradual chronological development towards more formally organized structures of a larger scale. The *kyōka* meetings of the early phase of popularity in Edo - in the 1770s - constitute a first level; that of a closely knit network of poets who were either directly acquainted with each other, or through a common acquaintance.[232] These were meetings of a cultural avant-garde, of people who formed their private networks of (amateur) poets. Gatherings like theirs were directed inward rather than outward; public appeal was not the aim. Especially since the city of Edo was divided into wards that in principle housed persons of the same birth status or profession even, these early *kyōka* networks will have been limited in terms of geographical spread. Participation through written contributions may have been possible, but is not likely to have been common. Gatherings will have been relatively undefined in setup and were likely planned shortly beforehand in comparison to the later events.

[231] Maruyama (1978), p. 72. (5.116 Poems by 681 poets and 5.242 poems by 859 poets respectively.)
[232] As described by Iwasaki (1984), pp. 172-190.

Gatherings organized by (leaders of) *kyōka* groups for their direct members represent the second stage. The well-documented *kyōka* party organized by Ōta Nanpo on the occasion of his mother's 60th birthday in 1783 marks a turning point away from small-scale in-crowd get-togethers. Nanpo sent out an invitation (only) to his group members, yet so many *kyōka* enthusiasts responded to the invitation that a restaurant had to be hired to accommodate all.[233] The party is described by Iwasaki and links to a remark she makes some 20 pages earlier: "While the *kyōka* and *gesaku* writers of the An'ei era moved in a small band of like-minded men, Tenmei writers carried their activities in large, semipublic parties and penetrated the worlds of the theater and the pleasure quarters, and even reached the backstage of politics.".[234]

It is around this same time, during the 1780s and 1790s, that groups started meeting on a regular basis. Nanpo's group gathered on the nineteenth of each month, according to Iwasaki.[235] Such monthly *tsukinami* gatherings organized by *kyōka* circles were to become a standard for decades to come. In terms of network reach and structure, there are several differences with those of friends and direct acquaintances. As group leaders attracted more followers, the relation between poetry masters and regular members changed. It is difficult to say with certainty how new members went about procuring membership of a certain group. We can conjecture, though, that central figures in *kyōka* society may have held a specific appeal to an individual amateur poet, for instance because of stylistic approach, attractive publications to his name, class background of the poetry master and most members, or even just geographical proximity. Perhaps a request to become part of the group was sent in, accompanied by some sample poems. Even without knowing the exact circumstances, it is still discernable from printed output of separate groups over the years that membership was not something to be changed on a whim; poets commonly stayed in one circle for a longer period of time. Connections between the poets in these circles headed by one poetry master were likely quite close. Meeting every month for several years and appearing in the same publications undoubtedly forges bonds. Gatherings of these circles therefore differ from those attended by first and second-degree acquaintances. Nonetheless, poets attending gathering likely knew the (poetry) names of all the participating poets.

The large-scale *kyōka awase*, specifically the single occasion gatherings of the Bunka, Bunsei and Tenpō eras constitute a third stage. There was a higher level of participation from poets outside Edo. They could usually not attend the actual gathering and basically participated at a distance by mail.[236] As is evident from *kyōka awase* announcements, the large-scale competition events were co-organized by several poetry circles and sub-groups. The net was cast widely when it came to inviting participants, resulting in contributions by *kyōka*-lovers from all over the country. The ratio of competitors to attendants was likely

[233] Iwasaki (1984), pp. 204-205.
[234] Iwasaki (1984), p. 173.
[235] Iwasaki (1984), p. 178. Likely not every month of the year: The number of monthly *kyōka* meetings in a year is usually ten, particularly when the various groups gain momentum. The first monthly meeting of the year was held in the second month and the last meeting of the year was held in the eleventh month. A special New Year's meeting was held the first month, that not formed part of the regular monthly meetings.
[236] Unless they happened to be in Edo, for instance for business. In that case, the fact that they resided in Edo at that time is marked by the term '*zai Edo* 在江戸'. See Takahashi (2007), pp. 93-100.

the most skewed in these third-stage contests. Furthermore, the day of gathering was surely the most public in character. The venue was open to poets from various circles and it seems even poets not associated with any specific circle could partake. The likelihood of poets knowing each other, either personally or by their *kyōka* persona, was lowest in these meetings.

The participants in such heavily populated events cannot be said to form part of a fixed network. Participation was simply too fluid from one occasion to the next. Rather, these events should be regarded as instances of connections *between* networks that belonged to the same *kyōka* world. On some announcements, a common connection to the poetry circles that claimed connection to either of the two main currents can be discerned - one being the Yomogawa, the large poetry group headed by Yomo no Utagaki Magao; the other the Gogawa, headed by Rokujuen.[237] In the Tenpō era, after both these figureheads had died, the many large nation-wide competitions seem to have been less bent on one or the other school. For poets attending the day of the gathering, part of the participants will have been known to them through their personal poetry circle connections, yet many other poets will have been from outside their circle of acquainted poets. Yet another cluster of poets will not have been visible at all, due to their absence. To the individual participant, it will have been clear that the literary pastime they were engaged in drew followers from far and wide. All these fellow participants were in search of the perfect *kyōka*, which may have contributed to a sense of strong connectedness on the part of each contestant, hindered only, perhaps, by the individual focus on personal scores.

4.2.4 Ranking tables: to be judged on one's merits

Besides the cultural and social aspects of *kyōka* gatherings, there was the decidedly practical aspect of ranking the poets by the quality of their poems. In general, the 'pioneers' seem to have been less fixated on a predetermined scoring system. Composition of *kyōka* poetry was, practically speaking, the main objective of the day. In later decades, most of the composition was over and done with weeks before the day of the gathering. A major practical function of the day itself was hearing the scores and receiving the associated spoils. Apparently, only very confident poets would engage in composition at the scene, *tōza*. And even for the *tōza* segment, subjects were often pre-announced on the *kyōka awase* announcements, which gave poets ample time to prepare phrases beforehand. Although prizes were made available for poets competing in 'impromptu' composition 'at the scene', the number of poems in the *tōza* segment in

[237] The proposed rivalry between these two *kyōka* masters is often exaggerated. They actually collaborated on many books throughout the period of popularity of *kyōka*, until their respective deaths in 1829 and 1830. They did have quarrels, though, as evidenced by the fact that they publicly reconciled at a *kaomise* (litt. 'face-showing'; a yearly preview performance introducing the star actors scheduled for the new theater season) at the Nakamura theater in the 11th month of 1817. This event was recorded in various sources, among which the 'kabuki chronology' *Kabuki nenpyō* 歌舞伎年表 (Ihara et al. (1956-1963), vol. 6). Through mediation of Ōta Nanpo, they ended their dispute (which had apparently lasted three years) over a portrayal. The rivaling *kyōka* masters recited poems on the topic of reconciliation and drank sake from the same cup. The fact that this reconciliation was a public affair attests to the popularity of these men. Kasuya (1986), pp. 243-244, states that the event was recorded in many more sources than the three he quotes, which also confirms the impact of this event in literati circles.

the back of competition result books is usually meager at best.

As is often stated on announcement leaflets, a ranking table is to be distributed on the day of the gathering to those who scored a sufficient number of points. Whether or not the positions of poets were completely dependent on their qualities as poets, or also influenced by their connections to the judges, or perhaps related to their financial support of the circle, is very difficult to determine.[238] Important is the fact that the position of poets within their circles is revealed in the ranking tables. This provides valuable information about the success of individual poets who are encountered in other materials such as *surimono*. The possibility of climbing ever higher in the rankings and seeing one's poem published in the (colorfully) illustrated pages, reserved for only the best poems, must have been a great incentive for poets to work hard on the quality of their poetry and consequently make it to the illustrated pages.

The ranking tables mimicked those of *sumō* wrestlers, which is why they are often dubbed 'parody ranking tables', *mitate banzuke* 見立て番付. The basic format as applied to the sumō world was actually parodied in many more worlds and applied to courtesans, actors, historical heroes, restaurants, spas (*onsen* 温泉), etcetera. *Kyōka* poets themselves commonly used the word *kōotsuroku* 甲乙録 ('Record of the superiority and inferiority'). I will continue to use the word *banzuke*, since this is the word that is in common use now in (scholarly) literature and databases. Banzuke issued by *kyōka* circles have survived in small numbers and the majority dates from the Bunsei and Tenpō eras, although younger examples are also known. The earliest example listed by Maruyama dates to the second year of the Bunsei era, 1819.[239]

The standard format of a *banzuke* is as follows. Similar to sumō 'stables', the contestants are divided into two 'teams', called East and West, or occasionally Left and Right (traditionally common in poetry). In the middle of the sheet, between the columns for East and West, is a vertical bar that states the title, names of the judges, organizer, topics, and other such practical information. The names of those who are ranked are listed vertically in rows, left and right of the center bar. The listed names are separated by horizontal lines, font size decreasing per row further down. The two top scorers are listed first, all the way to the left in their respective section, as *ōzeki* 大関, corresponding with the highest rank in sumō.[240] Then follow *sekiwake* 関脇 and *komusubi* 小結, one each, followed by the *maegashira* 前頭, the rank bestowed upon the remainder of the poets. The *maegashira* are also sorted according to score, which is explicitly noted in some ranking tables.

[238] In the (paraphrased) words of Takahashi Akinori (in private conversation, 2013): 'if the scoring procedure in one circle is perceived as unfair by participating poets, they will soon move towards other circles to compete'.
[239] Maruyama (1978), p. 66.
[240] The rank of *yokozuna* 横綱, currently the highest rank in *sumō*, is said to have been introduced during the Edo period. See Lee A. Thompson (1998) in Vlastos (Ed.). *Yokozuna* is actually a rank within that of *ōzeki*, which is perhaps why the rank of *yokozuna* does not feature in this *banzuke*. I have never encountered any *banzuke* of the Edo period featuring the rank of *yokozuna*; the highest position - if divided according to sumō ranks - is generally marked *ōzeki*. The rank *yokozuna* does appear in *banzuke* from the Taishō period and onwards, see Segi, Shin'ichi (2000), for instance p. 109.

Fig. 8. *Banzuke* for a competition titled *Kyōka kanadehon chūshingura* 狂歌假名手本忠臣蔵(*'A Kyōka Treasury of Loyal Retainers'*). This document is date Tenpō 11, 1840. The then common word for ranking table, *kōotsuroku*, is seen straight above the word *saishu* 催主, organizer, in the lower section of the center bar. Coll. Tokyo Metropolitan Library, inv. no. 加7424-22-2.

The tendency towards hierarchical arrangement of poets is encountered throughout the genre of *kyōka*. The 'parody' in form of ranking tables was a serious matter for *kyōka* poets in terms of content. Sorting based on such hierarchies is not only seen in *banzuke*, but also on the book pages were the poems

are listed, on announcements and on *surimono*. Positions of poets are almost always determined based on rankings in relation to other poets. The hierarchy sorting is from right to left, highest points on the right. However, the position far left is an honorary position and reserved for judges and selectors on *surimono*, and in the case of *kyōka* result books sometimes also for organizers. The persons placed in the honorary positions are often marked with a small circle printed next to their name or their poem. Although judges and selectors were *hors concours* and stood above the competition, even they are generally also sorted according to a hierarchy based on their merits. This is reflected in the titles used to designate them. A judge at a contest was called a *hanja* 判者, *kyōka* masters were often called sensei or *ushi* 大人, and the major figures who headed large circles are designated with the term *sōshō* 宗匠, master/teacher, a term also common in for instance tea ceremony hierarchies.[241]

Although rooted in a historic tradition, the *kyōka* genre carried the system of scoring points and ranking poets according to their scores to a new level, with a standard that came to be employed nation-wide. Opportunities for engaging in *kyōka* competitions were manifold. The fees for competing were relatively high, but then again, there were luxurious prizes to be won. Furthermore, care was taken by organizers to publish the results in attractive books. The elaborate scoring system allowed poets to monitor their progress with considerable precision and aspire to join the ranks of *kyōka* celebrities. The competitive element attracted enthusiasts from all over the nation who engaged in a cultural pursuit that was both traditional and fashionable. Gatherings provided occasions where these amateur poets would meet members of the network of enthusiasts, who were at the same time their rivals in the competition. And, perhaps more importantly, the masters and leaders of the poetry circles could be met and seen in action at these events. As evidenced by the surviving printed materials discussed above, the entire system of *kyōka* poetry circles, leaders and followers, competitions, fees and rewards was a successful formula, refined over several decades and reaching its heyday - in terms of volume - in the Bunsei and Tenpō eras.

4.3 Scale: Expanding circles

Kyōka books and *surimono* must be understood as products of the individuals or circles that published them. Furthermore, these publications should be related to the respective sizes of the circles at different points in time. Investigating just a limited number of *surimono* or *kyōka* books can result in a patchy understanding of the networks of people who commissioned them. More books and *surimono* were issued in the Bunsei era than the Tenmei era. It is important, however, to investigate reliable data on publication numbers of both books and *surimono* and compare these to *kyōka* circle membership wherever possible. This way, publications can be put into perspective as commissions by poetry circles of varying size and

[241] Poets who had the title of *sōshō* are usually mentioned in KJJ to have received this title from *sōke* 宗家, 'grand masters', in Kyoto. What the claim to authority of these Kyoto-based grand masters is, is unclear to me, and may benefit from further research.

level of organization.

4.3.1 *Kyōka* expansion timeline

The expanding scale of the *kyōka* society can be illustrated by a number of landmark points per era. The landmarks I selected are based in part on materials that provide calculable numbers and in part on publications or events that I consider game-changing. This simple timeline will serve as an argumentation in itself for the rate of expansion - and decline - of the *kyōka* society.

In the of 6th year the Meiwa era, 1769, the first *kyōka* meeting in Edo was held at the house of Karagoromo Kisshū. The poetry composed at this meeting is recorded in the manuscript *Meiwa jūgoban kyōka awase* 明和十五番狂歌合 ('*Kyōka match of fifteen in the Meiwa era*'), dated to the first month of the next year.[242] In the An'ei era, the number of *kyōka* meetings continued to grow.

The Tenmei era saw the first commercial publication of major *kyōka* anthologies.[243] Furthermore, information books such as *Kyōka hama no kisago* (which was published commercially) started to appear. As I have argued before, these publications mark a major step from limited groups of enthusiasts, to a much wider audience. From this point onwards, interested readers and amateur poets could get their hands on the poetry produced by the foremost figures in *kyōka*, without being a direct member of their circle.

During the Kansei and Kyōwa eras, issuing deluxe New Year's *kyōka* albums had become a yearly occurrence for *kyōka* circles such as the Asakusagawa.[244] Many were privately commissioned, and not published with the intention of making profit by selling these to the general public.[245] The quality of these albums was very high; the now mature *kyōka* society clearly generated sufficient funds for such extravagance. It is noteworthy that in these albums, we already find some contributions by poets from the provinces.[246] This indicates that circles such as the Asakusagawa already had a reach that extended beyond their district, or even the entire city of Edo. The percentage of poets from (far) outside Edo is, however, low in comparison to the ratios seen in competition result books from the late Bunka and the Bunsei eras, when many poets from various other cities and villages throughout Japan contributed and *kyōka* clubs operated on a national level.

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[242] See Suga (1936/I), pp. 281-281; Kobayashi, F. (2009), p. 379; Iwasaki (1984), p. 61. The manuscript has variant titles; the title mentioned being the most commonly used.
[243] See previous chapter.
[244] *Kyōka* albums of this era are treated in depth by Forrer (1982).
[245] Kobayashi, F. (2005) uses the term '*shunkyō* 春興 poetry anthologies' to designate these New Year's *kyōka* albums. Some of these albums were produced by commercial enterprises of publishers such as Tsutaya Jūzaburō. These include colophons and were apparently marketed to the general public as well. Kobayashi, F. (2005), p. 171, however, suggests that these albums were "clearly […] produced without a profit motive", even when they include a publisher's name. This point is inherently difficult to prove. Tsutaya was known for his entrepreneurship, and cooperating on an elaborate publication without any profits (to him) seems uncharacteristic. From the point of view of the poetry circle, however, making profit was indeed likely not intended.
[246] For instance in *Yanagi no ito* 柳の糸 ('*Strands of the Willow*'), issued in Kansei 9, 1797. Some poets are indicated to be from places, for instance, as remote as Numata in present-day Gunma Prefecture.

Meanwhile, the publication of *kyōka surimono* evolved from single sheet into serial publications.[247] The Bunka era witnessed the emergence of titled *surimono* series, which gradually came to be issued yearly.[248] *Surimono* series grow in size, the paper format essentially gets standardized, and more and more poetry groups give their commissions to dedicated *surimono* designers.

The Bunsei era marks the heyday in the printed output resulting from organized *kyōka* group activity; major *surimono* series in the *shikishiban* format were issued and a multitude of competition result books were published - far more than commercially published *kyōka* books in these years. The competition result book *Kyōka yomibito nayose saiken ki* 狂歌よみ人名寄細見記 (‘*Directory of the names of* kyoka *poets*’) issued in the first year of Bunsei, 1818, features an overview of scoring marks that are made to resemble the marks used in the ‘*saiken*’ directories of courtesans and prostitutes of the Yoshiwara. The overview also lists the days of the month that ten *kyōka* circle leaders held their respective monthly gatherings. Among them are Yadoya no Meshimori, Garyōen Umemaro, Shakuyakutei Nagane, Shōfūdai Teitei (n.d. 松風臺停々) and Dondontei Wataru. These ten figures that are listed by no means represent the full extent of gatherings that were held during these years as several major leaders are not included in the overview, apparently because they did not participate on this particular occasion. For instance, Yomo Utagaki Magao, Sensōan Ichindo and Bunbunsha Kanikomaru are not listed. Furthermore, competitions were also held in the Kansai region and elsewhere throughout Japan and major figures such as Senryūtei Karamaro (Sendai) and Tsurunoya Osamaru (Osaka) are not listed. Nonetheless, the overview given in *Kyōka yomibito nayose saiken ki* illustrates the fact that a considerable number of circles were active during the Bunsei era. *Kyōka* books of these years in most cases relate to the activities of one or more of these circles. Even commercial publications published during the same period should be considered against the background of the large-scale *kyōka* society of the time, and can seldom be viewed as entirely ‘independent’ from the competition.

Despite the obvious decline in the output of *surimono* series and (deluxe) competition result books, the competition still attracted many poets in the Tenpō era. A *banzuke* dating from Tenpō 12, 1841, unusually states the number of poets and poems that competed on that occasion: 451 poets submitting a total of “more than” 11.700 poems.[249] It is clear from the many ranking tables surviving from the Tenpō era that the competition was still going strong. In fact, *banzuke* from as late as the Bunkyū 文久 (1861-1863) era survive. The publication numbers of *surimono* and *kyōka* books, however, sharply plummet from the mid-Tenpō era onwards. This is clearly visible in the graph presented in the next paragraph for the case of *kyōka* books and in appendix III, which shows the output of *surimono* series per era.

[247] Forrer (2013), pp. 13-14, gives a convenient overview of “The development of *egoyomi*, *surimono* and related issues”.
[248] As I have mentioned before, Kobayashi, F. (2005) investigates the reasons for this development, and ascribes it in part to government regulations with regard to color-printed books.
[249] Kept in the Hōsa Bunko collection, Nagoya, inv. no. KA7424-042. This number of poems per poets calculates to almost 26 per poet on average. This seems unusually high, which may be why it is marked so specifically.

4.3.2 *Kyōka* and *haikai* book publication numbers

Despite frequently declared qualifications such as '*kyōka* craze', the number of book publications in the genre should not be overestimated. The deluxe materials qualities of the *kyōka* prints and books that lead to the high survival rate in collections in our time may give the false impression that the publication output of the genre was relatively high. Contrary to that expectation, a calculation of the percentage of *kyōka* related publications per period reveals that, despite an obvious peak between the Tenmei en Tenpō eras, *kyōka* books never exceeded 3,26 percent of the total output of titles.[250] Comparison to the graph for the publication of books in the genre of *haikai*, with a percentage constantly hovering between c. 6 and 15 from the middle of the Edo period onwards, illustrates the fact that *kyōka* were never as widely consumed - at least in book form - as *haikai*. The graph combining the percentages of *haikai*, *waka*, and *kyōka* books reveals that *kyōka* books only (just) surpassed the publication numbers of *waka* books between the Tenmei and Tenpō eras. The graphs shown here, the contents of the books, the dissemination of *surimono* and the networks of *kyōka* circles treated in the subsequent chapters point out that the elitist pastime of a handful of Tenmei era literati would indeed gain a nationwide following, though never shed that elitist aura.

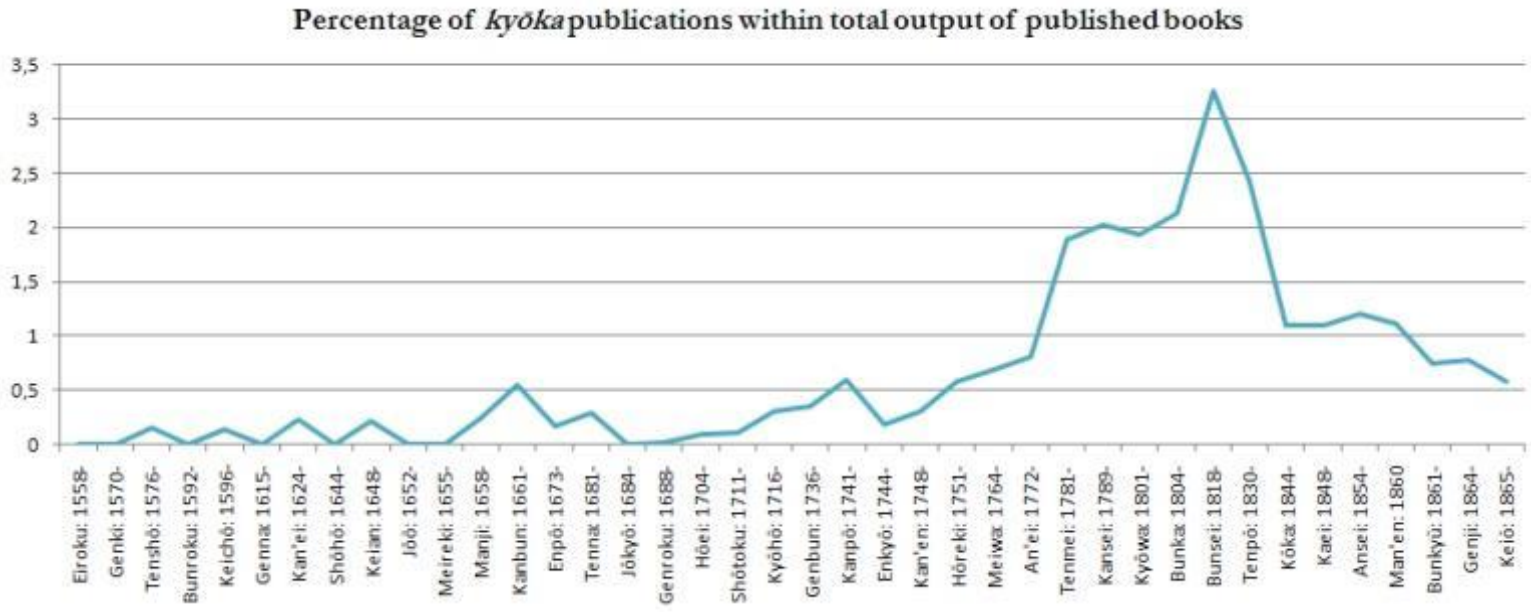

Fig. 9. Percentage of *kyōka* publications within total output of published books

[250] Based on data taken from the Union Catalog of Early Japanese Books (*Nihon koten sōgō mokuroku* 日本古典籍総合目録), hosted by the National Institute of Japanese Literature (NIJL), on March 31, 2011 (http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/~tkoten/about.html). The percentage is calculated by comparing the number of titles in the genre of *kyōka* to the total number of titles issued in each period. The percentage could only be calculated for each period as a whole, not per year. Furthermore, the calculated percentage has no bearing on the print run of each title. I estimate, however, that print runs of *kyōka* books - especially the relatively expensive color-illustrated publications - never exceeded those of popular novels or *haikai* books. To give an idea of the absolute numbers: the total number of *kyōka* books found to be published during the Bunsei era is 294, about 25 per year.

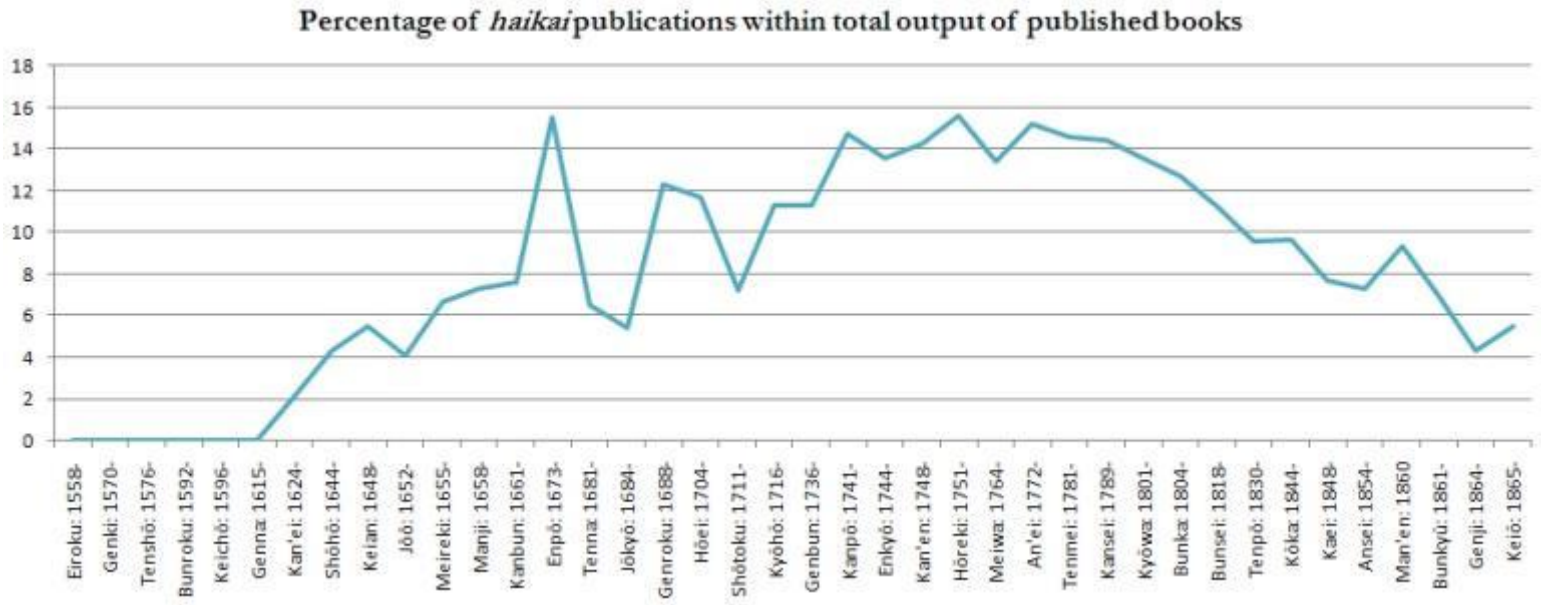

Fig. 10. Percentage of *haikai* publications within total output of published books

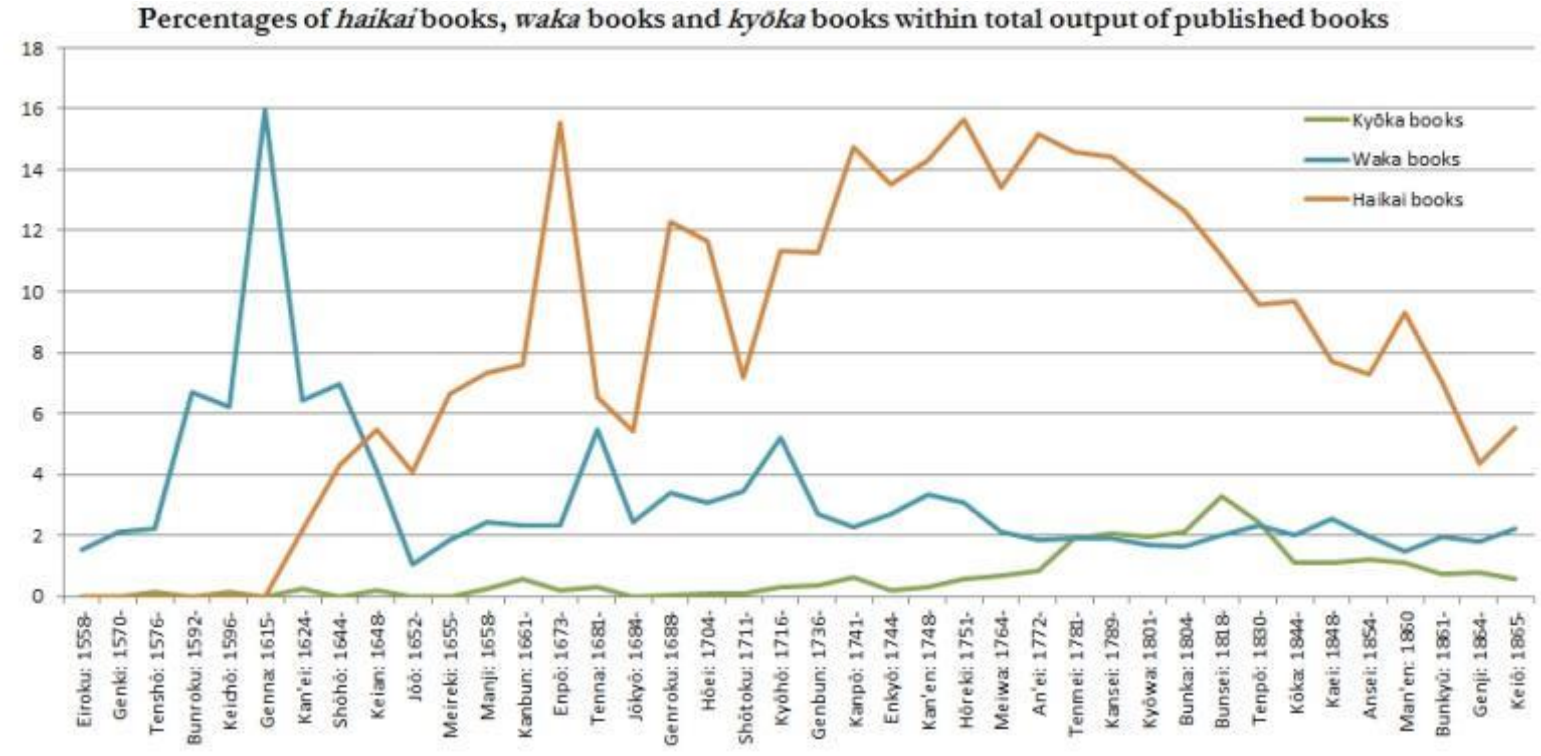

Fig. 11. Percentages of *haikai* books, *waka* books, and *kyōka* books within total output of published books

4.3.3 *Surimono* series publication numbers in relation to number of active poets

Surimono numbers give a false impression of the activities of *kyōka* poets and their networks. In fact, one could jump to a number of incorrect conclusions when considering the body of *surimono* issued over the years. One could be led to think that *kyōka* poets were all very rich and published only full-color marvels of Japanese printmaking. It may appear that *kyōka* as a genre became popular and organized only

at the beginning of the Bunka era, when more and more *surimono* series were commissioned by poetry groups. It would seem that most of these groups consisted of some twenty or thirty poets, based on numbers derived from *surimono* series numbering six or ten prints, for instance.

I have introduced ample materials in the previous chapters to illustrate the fact that the *kyōka* genre yielded many more publications, and that not all of these are 'deluxe'. The data on *kyōka* book publication and the materials related to poetry matches revealed how the genre's popularity and degree of organization rose, well before the appearance of larger-scale *surimono* projects. And while it is true that the peak in *surimono* series publication largely followed that of *kyōka* (competition result) books, the early years of the Tenpō era witness a sudden decline in *surimono* series' publication numbers sharper than that of *kyōka* books. The drop in *surimono* series' numbers is so sharp that if one considers these prints only, it may appear that the *kyōka* fashion was over in an instant - in exactly 1833, judging from appendix III. Again, the continued appearance of *kyōka* books and ranking tables proves that popularity of the genre dropped, though not as sharply as *surimono* publication numbers.[251]

The matter of poetry group size in relation to *surimono* series presents a complex case to prove. Certainly, the evidence that the poets featured in *surimono* series represent only a portion of the poetry group that commissioned the series is overwhelming. Books and ranking tables give more, and more reliable data on participation numbers. The difficulty lies in matching these materials to specific *surimono* series. One case in which a match could be made is in the activities of the Katsushikaren in 1821. In that year, the circle led by Bunbunsha issued its largest *surimono* series, *Katsushika nijūshishō* 葛飾二十四将 ('*Twenty-Four generals for the Katsushikaren*'), illustrated by Gakutei.[252] In the same year, the circle issued the competition result book *Kyōka chūyagyōjishū* 狂歌昼夜行事集 ('*A kyōka anthology of events of the day and of the night*'), also illustrated by Gakutei, who actually also participated in this contest as a poet.[253] The two

[251] Reasons for the decline in popularity of the genre are often attributed to the deaths of main leaders Magao and Rokujuen in 1829 and 1830 respectively. The sudden decline in *surimono* series may also have been caused in part by an economic downturn after the Bunsei era. Both these matters would benefit from further investigation. Since the correlation between poetry group membership numbers and *surimono* series' publications is the main issue here, particulars with regard to said decline will not be discussed further.

[252] I have discussed the entire series in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), pp. 108-121.

[253] The data I gathered are based on two copies; one in the Hirosaki City Public Library, acc. no. 272-296-3, and one in the National Library of Korea, acc. no. 古5-53-10. The former is original, yet incomplete and bound together with a separate volume issued by the Hanazonoren. The latter is the commercial edition published by Kadomaruya Jinsuke 角丸屋甚助 and Kawamura Giemon 川村儀右衛門, both located in Edo. This edition features an added preface by the "Master of publishing house Kōbundō 書肆耕文堂のあるし", the firm name of fellow publisher Iseya Chūemon 伊勢屋忠右衛門, who promotes the book as a fine selection by Bunbunsha (although the original selection was done by Bunbunsha and Bunreisha 文齢舎 together!), from poems on subjects related to the 'fixed events' during the day and night, with illustrations by Gakutei. The selection was made, he writes, from poetry submitted by poets from Edo and also by poets 'of name' from (far) outside Edo. The volume is further stated to provide good examples for those starting to learn how to compose *kyōka*. The preface is dated Spring of the year of the Horse, which corresponds to 1822, one year after the initial release (it should be noted that the date of 1821 as listed in the database of the National Institute of Japanese Literature could not be verified in the first edition. The contents of the volume do, however, support this designation.). The awarded points are omitted in the commercial edition. An illustration of a fulling block and a mortar for treating cloth under a full moon, by Gakutei, is added, featuring a poem by Bunbunsha on this theme (Tamagawa/*kinuta*).

publications make for a valid comparison of scales.

To start with the simple numbers: the *surimono* series features 47 poems by 45 different poets, whereas the result book features 733 poems by 172 different individuals. Considering the fact that competition result books represent only part of the total number of competing poets, the number of individuals competing in this event likely exceeded 200. If indeed so, the ratio of the number of poets in the *surimono* series for that year to the number of poets active in the regular competition boils down to around 1 to 4, perhaps even 1 to 5.[254] The matter at hand here is that of scale, and the above example indicates that even a large *surimono* series such as that of the twenty-four generals for the Katsushikaren features only a relatively small portion of the poets active in that *kyōka* group.

The relative incongruence between the size of *surimono* output and *kyōka* competition activity can be further illustrated by an example from the early years of the Tenpō era. The Sugawararen, led by Shakuyakutei Nagane, organized a large one-time competition in the fourth month of 1832. The dated announcement for this event survives in the Otsuma Women's University library collection.[255] The results are stated to be published in two volumes, to be illustrated by Yanagawa Shigenobu. The 'assistants' to the organization, *hojo* 補助, number no less than 36 persons and (sub) circles.[256] Shakuyakutei selected 100 topics on which the competitors should compose their *kyōka*. Clearly, the Sugawararen still operated on full steam in 1832. For the New Year of that same year, the group commissioned two sets of *surimono*: one consisting of two prints and one consisting of six prints. These are *Sugawararen niban* 菅原連二番 ('*A set of two for the Sugawara group*'), designed by Kien Keisei 葵園溪栖 (n.d.), and *Mutamagawa no uchi* 六玉川の内 ('*The six crystal rivers*'), designed by Utagawa Sadakage, respectively.[257] The Sugawararen usually did not issue *surimono* series consisting of more than three designs in any year. In that respect, the total of eight designs commissioned for 1832 is relatively high for this group. Yet, in absolute number of designs (and

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In the commercial edition, a colophon is, naturally, also added. The last page before the colophon is reserved for advertisements for four books (to be) issued by Kōbundō (!), all either illustrated or written (one occasion) by Gakutei. (One could say that his involvement is apparently of greater consequence to sales than the involvement of one or the other poetry master.) The two copies combined provide the necessary information with regard to the initial conception and execution of the publication.

[254] Of course, we do not know whether a similar process applied to the selection of poets for the *surimono* series - i.e. not all poets who wished to see their name on a *surimono* for that year made the cut. It appears, however, that a different selection procedure was in place for *surimono* series. This question will be further addressed in section 4.5.

[255] This document has no inventory number, however.

[256] The *hojo* - whether (sub)circles or individuals - likely not only assisted with the preparations of the event, but also made a further financial contribution on top of the regular participation fees. Individuals who are listed as hojo usually competed as well, against poets who entered the competition the 'regular' way. Such individual poets who acted as hojo generally appear in the *banzuke* in the same way as other poets. In case the hojo was himself a judge, the marks given by fellow judges are listed, and a small circle is usually inserted in the position where the mark given by the judge in question would otherwise be placed.

[257] One of the *surimono* of *Sugawararen niban* can be found in Keyes (1985), pl. 210. Kien Keisei is also known as Aoigaoka 葵岡 Keisei, after his teacher Hokkei. (Keisei and Sadakage also collaborated on a *kyōka* competition result book issued in 1831 for the Biwaren.) An entire set of six designs of *Mutamagawa no uchi* is kept in the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, The Netherlands, inventory nos. RV-3713-28~33. Five out of six designs are kept in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, and feature in the catalogue by Forrer (2013), nos. 577-581.

poets featuring on these *surimono*), the small total could lead one to believe that the group was not very sizeable, while the output of books and the number of participating poets certainly contradicts that notion. Even in 1832, when the entire *kyōka* society is often stated - in *surimono* catalogues at least - to have been in strong decline, participation numbers were much higher than *surimono* publication numbers suggest.

In conclusion, the figures presented in the above section substantiate the argument that *kyōka* books and *surimono* series are for the most part to be understood as products of networks of poets. Furthermore, the implications of certain materials - whether books, prints or otherwise - with regard to *kyōka* group size and activity should always be weighed against the scale of the *kyōka* society as a whole in the year of publication. A book published during the Tenmei era featuring 50 poets may represent a substantial portion of the *kyōka* society of that year, whereas a book issued during the Bunsei era featuring twice the number of poets may in comparison be relatively inconsequential within the entire *kyōka* society of that later year. And even then, while the scale on which the genre of *kyōka* was practiced may have increased considerably and rapidly from the Tenmei era onwards, *kyōka* books took up only a modest share compared to *haikai* poetry books published during the same years. Lastly, the decline in publication numbers of *surimono* series during the Tenpō era prove to be a not so trustworthy reflection of the *kyōka* competition activities that were being held. In other words; although the age of *surimono* may have come to a sudden end, *kyōka* networks and their members continued their pursuits for some years to follow.

4.4 Status, class, and social identity: redefining boundaries

The sudden rise in popularity of the genre of *kyōka* is often attributed in part to the fact that class boundaries were disregarded at the poetry meetings. With regard to the important early *kyōka* meeting organized on the occasion of Ōta Nanpo's mother's 60th birthday in 1783, Iwasaki Haruko states: "Clearly, a new world was taking form, free from society's hierarchies", and subsequently quotes the prominent poet Baba Kinrachi 馬場金埒 (1750s-1808)[258], who commented: "At this happy party, held in celebration today, all distinctions of class have been discarded and, dispensing with rigid formality, people are addressing each other with "ore" and "ware," the most casual forms of "I" and "you."."[259] The situation

[258] Also known as Zeniya Kinrachi 銭屋金埒. He was a moneylender by trade living near Sukiyabashi and was renowned as one of the 'four heavenly kings of *kyōka*' (狂歌四天王 *kyōka shitennō*) of the Yomogawa. See KJJ p. 57 and Kobayashi, F. (2009), pp. 309-325. He died at the age of 'over 50' on the 4th day of the 12th month of Bunka 4, i.e. January 1st, 1808.

[259] Iwasaki (1984), pp. 205-206. Baba's quote translated by Iwasaki. Baba's observation is recorded in *Kyōka kyōbun rōraishi* 狂歌狂文老莱子 (Rō Raishi [Ch. Lao Laizi, living in the Kingdom of Chū 楚, which existed from c. 1030 to 223 BC] was a filial son who, at the age of over 70 himself, dressed and acted as a child in order to make his parents forget their age. Nanpo's kindness of throwing his mother such a party is apparently likened to Rō Raishi's exemplary filial piety.). This book, according to Iwasaki, "grew out of the gathering". It was

of discarded class boundaries that she detects is not unique to *kyōka*, for Ikegami Eiko makes a similar claim with regard to *haikai* poetry networks: "The *haikai* universe encouraged the participating poets to socialize with others by neglecting worldly categorical identities of individuals.".[260]

The notion that class boundaries were temporarily suspended during these cultural meetings is problematic in various respects. First and foremost: although 'class' was undeniably very consciously perceived by Japanese of the Edo period, the definitions and ramifications of class and status are complicated by a discrepancy between official views of the time and the actual situation in daily life. Second, there is both tension and overlap between the concepts of class and status. It is no coincidence that Iwasaki and Ikegami use terms such as "society's hierarchies" and "worldly categorical identities" to evade this terminology. I largely follow the definitions that Howland has formulated with regard to the situation in Edo society: Status refers to the legal category into which one was born, whereas class is a combination of status and economic position.[261]

The following section aims to explore the definitions of these concepts in the late Edo period in the eyes of those who were active in the genre of *kyōka* - essentially a cultural pursuit. The very fact that *kyōka*-related materials make frequently mention of, or illustrate matters with regard to, class and status indicates that the poets were conscious of these issues. The discussion of these materials will result in the view that although class and status were by no means a requirement or indeed a constraint for joining the *kyōka* competition, the idea that class and status were of no consequence is false.

4.4.1 The configuration of social identity

Traditionally, the Edo-period society was divided into four status groups: the samurai, the farmers, the artisans, and the merchants. The Japanese term for this status used in the Edo period is *mibun* 身分. The four groups are together known as *shinōkōshō* 士農工商 and based on a Confucian concept implemented loosely by the government.[262] These four groups are thus separated by birth status in an inherently rigid hierarchic system of hereditary social ranks. The primary separation is that between the samurai, *shi* 士 or *bushi* 武士, and the peasants, *nō* 農. The samurai ruled over the peasantry and in turn the peasantry sustained the livelihood of the samurai rulers, such was the general idea(l). A primary separating aspect - which was observed fairly strictly - was the monopoly on violence in order to enforce

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published by Tsutaya Jūzaburō in 1784, the year after the party, in five volumes.

[260] Ikegami (2005), p. 171. The entire chapter seven in Ikegami (2005) is devoted to the network qualities of *haikai* poetry and the opportunities for cross-class engagement in cultural networks.

[261] Howland (2001).

[262] See Fogel (1996), p. 430. By the way, although the division into four classes may seem extensive, it does not account for several groups in society; the imperial aristocracy, *kuge* 公家, the class that historically (Heian period) relied on the samurai to enforce their government regulations, is ignored in this system. The clergy - both Buddhist and Shintō - a substantial part of the population, is omitted. Third, and perhaps unsurprisingly, outcastes known as *eta* エタ, 'untouchables' or *hinin* 非人 'non-humans', receive no mention. According to Howland (2001, p. 358), relying on various sources among which a contemporary account by Von Siebold, the "shoguns' law described roughly eight legal statuses". Howland offers an extensive discussion of (debate on) samurai status and class in the Edo period.

rule, which translated to being allowed to wear swords or not. This policy was originally implemented by samurai overlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537-1598) in 1588. The artisans, *kō* 工, were regarded of less value than the food-producing peasants, but were equally ruled over by the samurai. The merchants, *shō* 商, were seen - in the Confucian view - as parasitic for not producing anything and busying themselves only with the accumulation of financial wealth.

In the urban society of Edo, the balance between these status groups did not match the ideal. By the late eighteenth century, several developments that were not accounted for in the concept, had taken place. In the broadest strokes: The samurai were confronted with a shift in tasks from military to administrative.[263] Although the samurai represented only some six percent of the population, the city of Edo was populated with a higher percentage due to the city's central administrative function within the government of Japan. Peasants, on the other hand, by far the largest group in Japanese society, were hardly represented in the city. Most of the non-samurai inhabitants of Edo fell in the groups of artisans and merchants, with a wide variety among them. The term that was used for the general population of the major cities is *chōnin* 町人, 'townspeople'. The division between samurai and *chōnin* was strict in the sense that *chōnin* could not aspire to any position in the government administration, let alone political posts. It must be noted, on the other hand, that samurai were expected not to lower their standards and dabble in trade of any kind. The permission to wear swords is a bit of a grey area. Only those of samurai stock were allowed to wear a pair of swords, one long, one shorter, yet some *chōnin* were allowed to wear one short sword.[264] To inhabitants of the cities, however, whether a man standing before them belonged to the samurai class or not will have been instantly clear, not (only) from the absence or presence of sword, but from the entire appearance, clothing, hairstyle, etc., and also from intangible attributes such as speech. It must be noted, however, that there were considerable differences in standing between samurai as the entire samurai class was meticulously ranked based on ties to the shogun's family, fief size, capability in official duties, etc., which in turn had an effect on the height of the stipend.

A major factor in the blurring of class perimeters in late Edo society is economic capital. As long as the peasantry is able to produce sufficient crops to feed the nation, and artisans and merchants are sufficiently and effectively taxed, the equilibrium is sustained. The early modern economy of the late Edo period, however, relied on a monetary system that was all but favorable to the samurai, whose stipends were calculated in rice.[265] Thus, discrepancies arose between impoverished samurai and wealthy merchants. While the former ranked higher in birth status, the latter may have enjoyed a superior economic status. The *bakufu* issued various measures to counteract such situations throughout the Edo period, none ultimately successful. When measuring class by means of economic power, then, the population was

[263] Ikegami (1995) deals with this shift extensively.
[264] A set of two swords is commonly known as *daishō* 大小 ('large and small'), usually consisting of a long sword, *tachi* 太刀 or an *uchigatana* 打刀, and a shorter sword, *wakizashi* 脇差. Howland (2001) mentions on p. 358 and p. 361 that some townsmen or farmers would "exceed their status" (financially for instance) and marry into samurai status or receive special permission to bear swords.
[265] See also Nakane (1991), for a succinct overview of "Tokugawa society" and the divisions between classes.

divided along lines that differed considerably from those drawn in the concept of *shinōkōshō*. This helps to explain how merchants were able to interact with samurai in *kyōka* society, in such an egalitarian manner.

Economic capital was not distributed in congruence with the traditional division status groups, and neither was cultural capital. Certainly, samurai were expected to adhere to a code called *bunbu* 文武, 'arts and weapons', meaning they were to keep up both their fighting skills and their literary skills. The latter was nurtured at domain schools, *hankō* 藩校. Enrollment in these domain schools was, as explained by Dore (1965), granted or required for "sons of all but the lower ranks of samurai retainers".[266] Yet, according to Nakane (1991), since the curriculum was bent on instilling Confucian ethics, "as a status group the samurai had little scholarly impact upon society".[267] Nakane sees this as a reason for Japan's strong popular culture in the Edo period:

> […] because there was no specific social stratum assuming responsibility for the furtherance of scholarship, the arts, and culture in general, it was left to the common people to provide the driving force for their development. This is why Japan has such a strong tradition of popular culture. Ironically, the hereditary separation of samurai and peasants limited the economic power of the samurai elite while at the same time it unleashed the energies of the common people.[268]

The theory of a 'cultural vacuum' that was then filled by commoners is appealing. It requires, however, answering the question where and how the common people acquired their knowledge and cultural tastes. During the second half of the Edo period, such information was less difficult to attain than might be expected. Commoners had the opportunity to attend *terakoya* 寺子屋, little private schools aimed foremost at elementary education in *yomi kaki soroban* 読み書き算盤 (reading, writing, abacus). Teachers would come from all social backgrounds and the curriculum could further include moral education, letter writing, geography, history and skills useful in daily life - sometimes specifically aimed at girls.[269] Those who had learned to read had access to a vast array of educational and informational books, known collectively as *ōraimono* 往来物, published during the Edo period. Scholarship on (classical) literature and most every other thinkable cultural pursuit were also available in print. Furthermore, education was not necessarily limited to the *terakoya*, as specialists in various fields - *waka* for instance - would teach students for a fee. The availability of such knowledge and the 'impact of print' are of course simultaneously an impetus for, and a result of market demand. Well-developed education and the advent of print created the circumstance in which cultural knowledge could be transmitted between classes.

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[266] Dore (1965), p. 60.
[267] Nakane (1991), p. 228.
[268] Nakane (1991), p. 228.
[269] A popularizing illustrated explanatory book (Ichikawa and Ishiyama (2006)) published in correspondence with an exhibition on the subject of learning in the Edo period held at the Edo-Tokyo Museum in 2006 presents various primary materials in support of this.

The way individuals in Edo society, and *kyōka* poets in particular, viewed themselves and others is the result of various factors of which those discussed above are of greatest consequence. Certainly, other factors must have been of influence; geographical location, occupation, talent(s), position within family, age, social connections, fame, etc., etc. In theory, the primary factor for *kyōka* poets was the degree of cultural sophistication, followed by talent perhaps. Regardless of class background or occupation, those who excelled at composing poetry - in a genre that relied heavily on cultural references - could aspire to the highest ranks within *kyōka* circles. The following section discusses primary materials that incorporate references to status, occupation, or cultural knowledge in order to see how social identity was perceived among *kyōka* poets.

4.4.2 The regard for status in *kyōka* groups

It becomes apparent from *kyōka* books throughout its Golden Age that *kyōka* poets were very socially conscious. This is clear from several *kyōkabon* that not only list each poet's pen-name, *kyōka* circles of affiliation, but also record their real name, hometown or sometimes full address,[270] and sometimes even birth status or occupation. Any possibility of anonymity is obviously out of the question this way. The many portraits of poets found in *kyōka* books convey important information on the status and social identity of individual poets, which can be judged from types of clothing, the types of hairdo, and the presence (or absence) of swords and other paraphernalia. At times, this status and identity are played with but most portraits appear to depict the poets in congruence with their actual personal situation.

The fact that an indication of status is given is remarkable in two ways. It indicates that status was a factor in the categorization of poets, despite the notion expressed by authors such as Iwasaki[271] that such boundaries were of little or no consequence in the *kyōka* world. Furthermore, it shows that the *kyōka* poets themselves, or at least the selectors, were conscious of the mix of people from various stations in life active in their poetry genre. Readers apparently valued the inclusion of this information, which may have helped them appreciate both the prestige and variety in their circle or network. The information may have also helped in the communication between members at gatherings, or in correspondence and interaction outside the *kyōka* meetings.

An example of a *kyōka* information book in which birth status is explicitly mentioned is *Kyōka gazō sakusha burui* 狂歌画像作者部類 (*'Illustrated categorization of kyōka poets'*), edited by Rokujuen, illustrated by Hōtei Gosei, and published in two *ōhon* volumes by the firm Bunkōdō 文光堂 of Edo in 1811.[272] The total number of *kyōka* poets portrayed is 173. Additionally, many more poets both from

[270] Since different status groups were to live in designated parts of the city, especially in the case of Edo, the address can be a clue with regard to the status of a person.
[271] Iwasaki (1984). It must be noted that Iwasaki's thesis concerns the early stages of *kyōka* popularity.
[272] Rokujuen states in his preface that Gyokkōsha Uramasa was the driving force behind the editing work of this book, checking what everyone's actual name and address was. The copy discussed here is kept in the National Institute of Japanese Literature, inv. no. ナ2-237.

earlier times and contemporaneous poets are featured with a poem only, placed in the space above the portraits. For the poets who feature with both poem and portrait, biographical data is given. This consists of other pen names, actual names, places of residence, and in many cases an indication of their status. Since this part of the data is not complete for the entire group of poets, no exact numbers can be calculated with regard to ratios. However, 38 poets of samurai descent and eighteen merchants could be identified.[273] Fig. 12 shows a samurai in full attire on the right hand side and a merchant on the left. This image was selected to illustrate that samurai and merchants could feature side by side. Poets are not sorted according to birth status in this book - nor in any other *kyōka* book that I encountered. In fact, in this book, there are no specific criteria to be found with regard to the order in which the poets are presented. The book is an overview of a large number of poets and not the result of a competition, which is why scores will not have been the principle selection method. Nonetheless, it is possible that the ranking of these poets within the Gogawa, for instance based on their position in the monthly *tsukinami* competitions, was of influence in the position they got assigned in the book under investigation here. Among the remainder in the book are eight women, four of whom courtesans, three of the others with a direct family relation to other male poets. Other indications include seven farmers, a handful of doctors, an occasional priest, and one actor (portrayed in a female role). Four men are listed as book traders, *shoshi* 書肆. One would think that these fall in the category of merchants, but apparently this trade deserves a specific mention.

[273] Either indicated as such, or likely belonging in this status group based on attributes such as a *kamishimo* and/or a pair of swords (samurai), or account books and/or abacuses (merchants) - the regular iconographic clues. This is not indisputable, I admit; one merchant (indicated as such in the biographical text) sports a fine pair of swords. As I have explained earlier, some merchants were able to acquire rights to bearing swords through the purchase of family titles from impoverished samurai.

Fig. 12. The samurai ("*buke* 武家") Sodehiko 袖彦 (KJJ, p. 117) from Gifu (right) and the merchant ("*kojin* 賈人") Mitsumori 満守 (KJJ, p. 223) from Edo on the left (sheet 15V and 16R in *Kyōka gazō sakusha kurui*). coll. National Institute of Japanese Literature, inv. no. ナ2-237. The pen name Mitsumori, written with the characters 'full' and 'protect, guard', is likely a play of words referring to his occupation, since a *mitsumori* 見積もり is the business term for 'quotation'. According to KJJ, Mitsumori was a rice trader.

The status of the individual poets is also recorded in the *kyōka* information book *Kyōka kijintan* 狂歌奇人譚 ('*Stories of kyōka eccentrics*'), written and illustrated by Gakutei, and published by Ōsakaya Mokichi 大阪屋茂吉 (firm name Bunkaidō 文魁堂) of Edo, in 1824. This book gives a short biography and an interesting story for various poets.[274] Each story starts with a mention of the poet's status. The table of contents lists only the poet's names and the category in which they fall. The total number of poets in *Kyōka kijintan* is 48. Five are listed as *buke* 武家 (unusually, one of them female; most women in appearing in *kyōka* books are from the licensed quarters), just two are listed as *nōka* 農家, three are listed as *kōka* 工家,[275] 28 are listed as *shōka* 商家. The remaining ten fall into other categories. That is to say, they are marked differently, although some of them should be considered to belong to the same status group. For instance, a (former) daimyo of a domain in the Chūgoku 中國 region, Kitsugoen Kagumi 橘

[274] The book consists of three volumes in six fascicles. The preliminary notes in the second volume state that the poets who had an interesting story to their name were selected, regardless of their fame.
[275] Reading could not be confirmed; other possibilities include *kōke* or *kuge* (not to be confused with 公家).

五園香久美,[276] essentially belonging to the *buke*, is listed as *kōke* 侯家, to be translated as '(feudal) nobility'. In some cases, the indication of profession seems to have been given prevalence over the Confucian division in four status groups. We find one fisherman, who would have probably belonged to the peasantry legally. One courtesan is listed, two doctors and one Shintō priest. One poet has no designation of status or profession. Three poets are listed as *yūmin* 遊民, or 'play folk', a designation used for those who can make a living from their activities as popular writers or poets.[277]

It is clear from the previous examples that the traditional Confucian division into four groups was to some extent adhered to, albeit with the addition of some categories. The reality of Edo society demanded a little more precision than the standard four status groups. Some added categories represent merely a further division by occupation - fisherman instead of peasantry; doctor instead of (in most cases likely) samurai status. In the case of *buke* or *shōka*, however, it is just the birth status that is noted, without further specification - despite the variation in samurai rank or mercantile success. Other categories such as priest or courtesan can be considered actual additions. These two categories are similar in the fact that one is not born into it and they therefore do not constitute birth status. A courtesan may have been born into a peasant family and underwent extensive cultivation at a Yoshiwara brothel. Her social identity would have been quite poorly reflected in the designation 'peasantry' as birth status.

The networks around Rokujuen and Gakutei give the impression of a more or less balanced mix of social backgrounds, representative of the urban society of the Edo period. Not all circles have such a varied membership. The Katsushikaren, headed by Bunbunsha who was of samurai birth, is a case in point. The high concentration of men sporting a fine *kamishimo* 裃 garment and a fashionably mounted pair of swords is obvious from this group's portrait books, even without counting. Not only the samurai, other members of this group too, mostly merchants and doctors, were clearly well off. Judging from the luxurious books and *surimono* issued by this group, the members could amass considerable funds for their publications.[278]

The boundary of birth status did not completely dissolve in the *kyōka* world. Two cases can be identified in which a (former or future) daimyo, in essence a high-ranking samurai, was portrayed in a *kyōka* book. I have mentioned Kitsugoen Kagumi in *Kyōka kijintan* above. Another example is Ryūōtei Edo no Hananari who would become twelfth daimyo of Chōshū 長州 domain, present-day Yamaguchi prefecture, some three years after his appearance in *Azuma fūryū rokurokkasen jinmeiroku* 東風流六々歌仙

[276] Judge for the Gogawa during the Bunsei era, see KJJ p. 41. Exactly which domain he led is unclear. At the time this *kyōka* book was issued, he had apparently already retired and lived in Nagoya.
[277] The use of the word *yūmin* in *Kyōka kijintan* is discussed by Ishikawa Jun, in his *Edo bungaku shōki* (1980, pp. 7-19) were he explains that *yūmin* are the people of Edo who make their living from playful activities such as *kyōka*. The ones listed as *yūmin* are Rokujuen, Kyokutei Bakin and Jippensha Ikku, each successful writers and prominent figures in popular literary culture. It deserves mention here that Huizinga (1974, pp. 33-34) presents the word *asobu* as an example of the expression of the concept of "play" in the Japanese language. As a matter of fact, Huizinga's concept of the playing man, *homo ludens*, could very well be translated into Japanese with the word *yūmin*.
[278] Bunbunsha's biography in *Kyōka kijintan* reports him to be skilled at numbers, which may have helped him make sound calculations for meetings and publication projects.

人銘録.[279] Both these men are portrayed in the opening illustration in the respective books. The biographical data in each book does not specify their ranks, but it is telling that these poets take this prominent position in the publications. Hananari features in *Sansaihana hyakushu* 三才花百首 (*'One hundred poems from a trinity of flowers'*) and is listed there as Hananari [*no*] *kimi* 花成君, 'Lord Hananari'.[280] Rank, it seems, was not entirely ignored.

The *tentori* system with the awarding of points, led to a meritocratic view of poetry. In the *kyōka* competition - in theory at least - poets were only judged by the merits of their poems, not by their social standing. As a matter of fact, when people of samurai status, townsmen of all kinds, and peasants joined to compete, it was possible that, based on the quality, poems by citizens of lower status were printed in the highly awarded sections of the book, and even on the illustrated pages. This meritocratic ideal is fascinating from a sociological point of view, yet is also contradicted in primary materials. The boundary of economic class remained intact even if birth status had been completely ignored. The entry fees, discussed section 4.2, dictated that those with a limited budget could only submit small numbers of poems, or perhaps none at all. Submitting larger numbers of poems increased the chances of scoring well in the overall ranking. Investing money, in short, increased the chances for talent to be recognized.

The overall impression given through the status indications and the various portraits is that of a network that consists of serious enthusiasts who do not necessarily share birth status, occupation or social identity, who perhaps fit into the same economic class to a certain extent, but principally share a cultural interest. Any network can only survive if there is a common connecting element. In the *kyōka* society at large, this connecting element was a cultural understanding, the mutual interest in the content of the genre, rather than a specific social status. In smaller parts of the network, *kyōka* circles around one *kyōka* master, the variety in cultivation and status was smaller accordingly. Yet, while status was not the common denominator in either case, it was all but ignored.

4.5 Social connections: What you know and who you know

Kyōka poets are simultaneously part of a small-scale circle, medium-sized network, and large-scale society. They advance in the genre through tutelage from a poetry master, they meet poets from other circles at gatherings that are open to the full scope of the network, and as purveyors of the *kyōka* genre, they form part of an entire society that connected likeminded spirits from all over the country. When the *kyōka* society was at its peak, it was - in theory - possible for enthusiasts to form part of the society without

[279] As I have mentioned earlier, in section 3.3.3. See Tsuda (2008), pp. 62-71.

[280] Collection NDL, inv. no. 特1-2427, last poem om sheet 5 verso. The title alludes to the concept of *tenchijin* 天地人, Heaven, Earth, and Man, along which the poems are divided. It in turn points to the three judges who judged each of these sections. The *kyōka* competition event was held in Kawachiyarō 河内屋楼 (Restaurant Kawachiya, the name of this restaurant surfaces in other *kyōka* materials as well) in Yanagibashi, Ryōgoku, Edo, on the 26th day of the 4th month of Bunsei 11 (1828). The blocks for this book were in possession of Shun'yūtei Umehide, a major player in the *kyōka* world of the Tenpō era. He hosted *kyōka* competitions with support from the Higakiren 檜垣連 (headed by his father Kaien Umeaki) and financed/owned blocks for other high quality *kyōka* books as well.

being connected to a teacher or network. Through the many *kyōka* publications aimed at the general public, amateurs could learn without receiving direct instruction. It will have been more difficult to actively participate in the events organized by circles and networks, though. It will have been equally or even more difficult to reach a prominent position within the institutionalized society and be awarded the coveted exposure in ranking tables and illustrated books, at least compared to those who invested in regular lessons and competition entry fees.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will focus on the parameters of circles, networks, and the entire *kyōka* society. Working from small to large, I will explain and illustrate the outlines of each of these levels that I discern. The position of poets within each level shall be discussed, mainly for the Bunka and Bunsei eras. Without having access to exact personal thoughts of any poet on his or her position in the *kyōka* society, it is through *kyōka* books, *kyōka* paintings, *surimono* and *surimono* albums that can be explored how poets were connected to one another. The position of poets within their circle, their network and the *kyōka* society as a whole can be deduced from appearance in *kyōka* books. *Surimono* albums, rare though they may be now in complete form, offer an insight into the personal connections that single poets maintained.

4.5.1 Circles, networks, institutionalized *kyōka* society

The *kyōka* society in Edo essentially started with a single circle. The induction of *kyōka* in Edo surrounding the *waka* teacher Uchiyama Gatei and the subsequent popularization starting with the likes of Ōta Nanpo and Karagoromo Kisshū have been mentioned in the section 3.1.1; the rate of expansion of these circles has already been treated in section 4.3. The concept of a poetry circle consisting of a teacher and pupils existed since long before Edo *kyōka*. The major difference with *waka* is perhaps that education in these older poetic forms could be regarded as part of a cultivated upbringing. Composing *kyōka* initially entailed playing around with poetry. The cultural prestige of a *kyōka* poetry master could therefore not be compared to the eminence of teachers of classical *waka* poetry. This would change with the progressing popularity of the genre of *kyōka*, to a point where certain *kyōka* masters were seen as major cultural figures in the popular arts.

The boundaries of *kyōka* circles, in terms of size and geographical spread, are inherently limited in comparison to networks and the entire society. The circle in essence consists of one leader and a group of followers. The followers may occupy different levels, depending on the entire size and degree of organization of the circle. In contemporaneous sources, amateur poets who receive tutelage of a *kyōka* master are described with the phrase "[…] の門に遊ぶ *no mon ni asobu*", which literally translates to "play at [...]'s gate". *Mon*, in this case, means 'private school' or 'class', and the phrase is commonly used for any relation of a pupil to a master.[281] The original meaning of the word *mon* does confer the idea that a master received pupils at his or her residence, and taught them there. In a society that essentially travelled on foot,

[281] The related word *monjin* 門人, translates to 'pupil' or 'disciple'.

this had repercussions for the geographical distance between the master and the pupils - at least those who wished to receive direct instruction on a regular basis.

The common Japanese term used in contemporaneous sources to designate such a circle is *ren* 連, 'party, company, gang'. Another, less common word that is used is *shachū* 社中, 'company, clique, troupe'. Two notable examples are the Hisakataya *shachū* 久堅屋社中 and the Shakuyakutei *shachū*. Another word commonly encountered is *gawa* 側, literally 'side'. This word is mostly used for the major organizations headed by Magao and Rokujuen.[282] The reason for the use of the word *gawa* with its meaning of 'side' probably lies in the antagonistic relation between these two *kyōka* greats. Magao and Rokujuen attracted such a large and nationwide following that these should be designated as network rather than circle. This is not to say that the word *gawa* should be translated as 'network'. The use of this word is inconsistent in primary sources, one example being the relatively small circle around Dondontei Wataru that is pertinently dubbed Taikogawa. Furthermore, it is questionable to what extent the poets of the time were preoccupied with (sociologically) framing the various interrelations. One term that surfaces in for instance competition announcements could be regarded as equivalent to 'network' as I use it here; *sōren* 総連, or 'cluster of circles'.[283] This term is used as a sort of umbrella term for *ren* that interconnect and cooperate, for instance in organizing an event. The bottom line, however, is that the use of the various words is not consistent and care must be taken to consider the circumstances of the use of these terms in contemporary sources when translating them.

Circles around a *kyōka* master were by no means isolated entities. Many *kyōka* events were open to participants from the various circles. Furthermore, circles connected to circles in other cities. In some cases, these should be considered branches of the main trunk that was located in Edo. It is these types of connections that constitute networks of *kyōka* circles.

The connections being forged are a by-product, argues Takahashi, of the circumstances of the Edo period, when *bakufu* government required a constant circulation of personnel.[284] The majority of communication between poets separated by lengthy journeys, however, will not have been face-to-face. The advanced infrastructure and level of organization of monetary and postal systems of the mid to late Edo period paved the way for connections between people that would have never had any means of communicating perhaps only as little as a century before. Moriya Katsuhisa sketches the development of communication channels during the Edo period:

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[282] A notable example is *Shinkyōkakei* 新狂歌觿 (*'New Kyōka Lineage'*), edited by Shakuyakutei, where the designation *gawa* is used for most circles. This publication comprises two volumes in four fascicles, *chūhon* format, and dates to 1837.

[283] Usually written with the older version of the character, 總. I thank Dr. Makino Satoshi for his confirmation of my findings, through email, April 2015.

[284] Takahashi (2007) labels these people - or should we say *this* people - as *tenkinzoku* 転勤族, 'the work transfer tribe'.

> As cities came into existence all over early modern Japan, an inter-urban communication network became firmly established. Much of the information in the system was political, but the main body of data was economic. Once a town reached a certain level of maturity, however, cultural information also proliferated.[285]

Kyōka poets made good use of these possibilities. Since some of them were active in the government and many were active in trade, they were familiar with or had access to these ways of information exchange on a professional basis, even before they would use these networks for the dissemination of cultural information.

The clearest evidence of this is found in announcements for competitions and similar *kyōka* events. The reliability of the postal system ensured that participation of poets from outside Edo could be invited for *kyōka* competitions. After the gathering, ranking tables and result books would be dispatched to poets in other cities, likely through one central figure in each separate city who had also taken responsibility for gathering the poems before they were submitted to the judges. Before such a competition and all the assisting partakers could be announced, many preparations would have needed to be discussed through extensive written communication.

[285] Moriya (1991), p. 114. This chapter by Moriya (in Nakane and Ōishi (Eds, 1991) also covers transformation and postal routes, and delivery of mail within cities.

Fig. 13. Announcement for *kyōka* awase in commemoration of Fugurumaan, 1832, coll. Otsuma Women's University library (no inv. no.).

Fig. 13 presents an announcement that illustrates the points made above. It was organized in commemoration of Fugurumaan Fumikazu 文車庵文員, who died on the 6th day of the 5th month of Tenpō 3 (1832), aged 66 by Japanese count.[286] This event was held in the 8th month of the same year; although that part of the date is not specified, it can be just made out from the introductory text in Shakuyakutei's distinctive hand.[287] Poets are invited to submit four poems, two for each subject: 'moon' (judged by Shakuyakutei) and 'geese' (judged by Sensōan [the third]).[288] Those who end up in the top three rows of the large ranking table will be given a prize. There is no fee, costs are borne by the supporting poets and *ren*. Those are grouped into *ren* and *sōren*, which are in turn sorted by city. First listed are the Suigyo *sōren* 水魚總連, various judges and circles grouped under the Suigyoren.[289] Ten judges (marked

[286] See KJJ, p. 193. Reading uncertain; could alternatively be Bunshaan Bun'in.
[287] This announcement is kept in the collection of Otsuma Women's University, Tokyo. No inventory number assigned. The text is of course printed, as is the entire announcement, yet in shape the characters are copied after Shakuyakutei's individual, typical, and rather difficult to decipher handwriting. He writes that Fugurumaan passed away "in the middle of this fifth month", "此皐月なかば *kono satsuki nakaba*".
[288] Shakuyakutei is marked here as *sōsho*, Sensōan - the third (Harumura 春村), a *kokugaku* scholar - is marked as *ushi*.
[289] According to Ishikawa (2011), p. 377, the Suigyoren is a combination of the former Gogawa headed by

with a circle) and poets from Edo are followed by three from Sendai, one from Nagoya, one from Asō 麻生, one from Nishio 西尾, one from Tsu 津, three from Mikawa, Shimōsa province 三河 下総, one from Hatchōme 八丁目 and one from Kawamata 川俣. Then follow seven members of the Sugawararen, all from Edo.[290] Next, nineteen poets and judges of the Asakusagawa, listed as Senmon sōren 浅門總連, 'The entire circle of pupils of Sensōan'. These too are all from Edo. The fourth section is reserved for the Chigusa sōren 千種總連, headed by Chigusaan Moromochi 千種庵諸持 (1791-1858). Three of them come from Edo, three others from 'Echi' (indicating either Echizen 越前 or Echigo 越後 province), Hōjubana 宝朱花, and Asō. The remainder, about two-fifths, is filled with the names of poets who belong to the Fugurumashachū. They come from Dewa 出羽 province (the Obanaren 尾花連, ten poets), Iida 飯田 in Musashi 武蔵 province (the Fūgetsuren 風月連, six poets), and 30 from Edo. It is specifically indicated that certain members of the Fugurumashachū bore the cost of printing, and miscellaneous costs. The list, which in its entirety takes up half of the announcements' surface area, ends with the names of three proofreaders, one calligrapher, and three organizers, last of which the Fuguruma *sōren*.

The fact that such a large number of participants could be mobilized in such a relatively short time span is indicative of an efficiently functioning network. In distance, the network spreads out over 800 kilometers: 400 kilometers to the northeast and equally far to the southwest. The number of days between Fugurumaan's death and the closing date for submitting the poems is 78. Within that limited timeframe, the news of his death had been spread, at least some 60 people had agreed to support a commemorative event, a venue and poem collecting locations had been fixed, and an announcement had been drafted, printed and distributed. All these tasks had to be completed well before the closing date - I estimate at least a month and a half - in order to allow poets from far away *ren* the time to receive the announcement, compose and submit their contributions in time. In an era essentially without wheeled transport or telecommunication, this was no mean feat. It is, however not unique to this event. Announcements for similar or even larger events, commemorative and regular competition, are found in the Otsuma Women's University library collection. The scale, geographical spread, and level of organization as witnessed in these announcements is testament to the well-defined and reliable network structure of the *kyōka* genre during the late Bunsei and the Tenpō eras.

Rokujuen, and the Sugawararen headed by Shakuyakutei. Nonetheless, the circles under the Sugawararen are listed separately in this example. According to the entry for Hōshitei Masunari *Shin kyōkakei* of 1837, the Suigyoren included also Hōshitei Masunari (originally Senshūgawa), Shiseidō Sutena (originally Taikogawa), Hakumōsha Manmori (originally Katsushikaren), and Hasakian Yonemori (originally Hanazonoren); I thank Makino Satoshi for pointing this out to me. The word *suigyo* derives from the expression "*suigyo no majiwari* 水魚の交わり", which translates to "close as water and fishes".

[290] The Sugawararen is not listed as *sōren*, but as *goren* 御連, an honorific used likely because of Shakuyakutei's involvement as the principal judge.

In simple terms, *kyōka* society is the entirety of all the circles and networks together. Other terms used in English literature are for instance '*kyōka* world', and '*kyōka* movement'. '*Kyōka* world' is fairly neutral, and I employ the term sporadically throughout this thesis. The term '*kyōka* movement' has a political connotation that I deem too strong to make the term useful in my discussion of the social structures of *kyōka* poets. Furthermore, the word movement may inadvertently suggest a group with a central governing body, which was not in place. Not all circles were interconnected and some networks took care not to intersect. However, all active *kyōka* poets, both amateur and professional, and regardless of their affiliations, belong to this - what I call - (institutionalized) *kyōka* society. The general public, which may come into contact with *kyōka* through the inclusion of poems in commercial prints, for instance, does not form part of *kyōka* society in my definition.

4.5.2 Featuring in *kyōkabon* as confirmation of position in *kyōka* circle or network

Taking into consideration the competitive nature, scale of the *kyōka* society, social and economic prerequisites, and cultural elevation discussed above, it is obvious that featuring in a *kyōka* book is the result of investing time, talent, and funds. When a poem submitted for a contest was listed in a result book, this meant that the quality of at least that poem was good enough to make the cut. That no doubt instilled pride on the part of the poet in question. If more of the poems submitted by one poet ended up in the resulting publication, this poet was obviously consistently scoring well. Those who scored high enough to occupy the first row of *banzuke*, could make it to the illustrated pages - whether they were for instance attractive landscapes, or portraits of the poets themselves. Appearing in an illustrated section was an even greater the confirmation of success within one's circle and/or network, if not within the entire society. Receiving high points from a universally acknowledged *kyōka* master is an enviable endorsement. An example of a banzuke presented below, however, indicates that scores alone did not guarantee a place in the illustrated pages. On the other hand, despite the apparently inevitable effect of financial superiority, a career in *kyōka* could neither be bought with money alone. Success, in *kyōka* too, was ultimately the result of continued effort.

The fact that appearing in the illustrated pages of a competition result book represents a confirmation of a poet's position within a network is illustrated by a ranking table of Higakiren, (fig. 14). This *banzuke* ranks some 200 poets, of whom 17 are marked with a red, hand-stamped seal reading '画像 *gazō*', 'illustration'.[291] There are two points that need to be addressed concerning this primary material. First, this *banzuke* dates to 1854,[292] which is quite some time after the years that my research focuses on.

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[291] Collection National Institute of Japanese Literature, inv. no. ニ2-99. The word *gazō* in itself does not clarify whether or not a portrait or another type of illustration is meant. However, the usage of this word in *kyōka* book titles usually pertains to portrait books. Illustrations of, for instance, landscapes are usually dubbed *e* 絵/画, picture(s). In fact, the illustrations in this book are indeed portraits of the poets.

[292] The *ren* published the book 本朝風俗水滸画像集 *Honchō fūzoku suiko gazōshū*, '*Collection of Fashionable Images of the Water Margin of Our Nation*', selected by Tatsunomon (Kaien) Umeaki, illustrated by Utagawa Yoshitora 歌川芳虎 (n.d., active late Edo to early Meiji period). It was issued in two volumes (and in two

Second, not all poets in the top row are selected for the illustrations. This appears to confirm that selection for the prestigious places in the resulting book was not based on scores alone. It may also have something to do with the fact that this is just one month's worth of results, whereas the final publication is based on the combined results of that *kyōka* season. Whichever may be the case, the graphic effect of this sheet and its manual additions is that - knowing that a portion of the competitors not even made it to the *banzuke* - the pyramid on which the poets in the illustrated pages stand becomes visible.

fascicles) in 1854, most probably based on the series of *tsukinami* of which this *banzuke* represents one month. Likely, the publication dates from late in the year after the competition (CiNii gives the tenth month, although it is not specified where this information comes from. The data in CiNii does specify "Kaei 7", a year that did eventually came to be indicated as Ansei 1. This seems to support to the trustworthiness of this date, as poets may have still been using the *nengō* Kaei before it was changed to Ansei during the year. [http://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/BA80624805 , accessed 17 December 2014]). This leads me to also date the *banzuke* to 1854. The book is discussed in Takahashi (2010 [1]), where it is also listed as dating from Kaei 7/1854) and Takahashi (2010 [2]), pp. 23. Takahashi (2010 [2]), however, gives 1856 as the year of publication, as does the database of the Kanō bunko 狩野文庫 collection that holds a (perhaps later) copy.

Fig. 14. *Banzuke* for the fifth installment of the monthly *tsukinami* competition of the Higakiren with the title *Honchō suikogazōshū* 本朝水滸画像集, '*Collection of Images of the Water Margin of Our Nation*', hosted by Shun'yūtei Umehide, and with assistance of the Suigyoren. 45,2 x 32,7 cm, c. 1854, coll. National Institute of Japanese Literature, inv. no. ユ2-99.

4.5.3 Featuring in *surimono* as confirmation of position in *kyōka* circle or network

For a poet to feature on a *surimono* will have signified considerable prestige; perhaps even more so than featuring in the illustrated section of a *kyōka* book. The circumstances of the publication of that particular *surimono*, however, come into play when assessing the importance and degree of confirmation that I discuss here. The large, full sheet *surimono* bearing the name of many poets, such as often issued

during the Kansei and Kyōwa eras, were often commissions of the major circles in Edo. The selection procedure for the poets on these prints is not known, but in most cases the listing reflects both membership of the commissioning circle and connections to (leaders of) other circles in Edo.[293]

In the case of *shikishiban surimono* of the Bunka and Bunsei eras, however, we have to consider the division between series commissioned by *kyōka* circles, and single *surimono* commissioned ostensibly independently of the system of circles and networks. Certain instances are known of poets who clearly financed *surimono* individually, such as Arakitei Shikyō 荒木亭史喬 (n.d.), who commissioned many single *surimono* that depict turtles and/or tortoises, with just one poem by himself on them.[294] Another example is Ryūōtei Edo no Hananari, whom I have mentioned in section 4.4, who features individually on several actor *surimono*.

As for *surimono* series issued by poetry groups, certain patterns can be discerned that indicate that the usual ranking system found in books of the same era was not applied to the prints. Forrer provides examples of pairs of poets who feature together on one print in a series, several years in a row.[295] That is indeed too much of a coincidence considering the numbers involved in the regular competitions. When we take another look at the *Twenty-Four generals for the Katsushikaren* and the result book *Kyōka chūyagyōjishū* issued by the Katsushikaren in 1821, we find that of the 45 who poets featured on the *surimono*, 23 do not appear in the result book. Certainly, poets will not always have been able to compete in every event. The ratio, however, certainly appears larger than expected for two projects conducted so shortly after one another. Considering the fact that moving up in the ranks required constant involvement in the competition, the appearance of poets in *surimono* without any presence in a result book of the same year is striking. Appearing on a print in a *surimono* series, therefore, confirmed not so much poetic prowess, but rather the quality of one's connections and likely the appreciation for one's financial support of the circle. This is not to say that talentless poets could buy their way into a *surimono* series. *Surimono* circulated among a privileged portion of *kyōka* society and held great appeal to any poet who came in contact with them. Including a poor poem on an otherwise luxurious printed artwork would reflect rather negatively on the circle in question. Those in control of the commission will have certainly been cautious of such an unwanted situation.

4.5.4 Proof of connections in *kyōka* society: *surimono* albums

Surimono albums offer a view into the way *kyōka* poets were connected within *kyōka* society. Since albums were carefully filled with *surimono* obtained through exchange, they constitute ego-documents that record the various connections of a single poet. From the perspective of the poet in question, one's (growing) *surimono* album was even better proof of his or her position (rather than rank) within the society

[293] Kobayashi, F. (2008) provides an overview of 83 such *surimono* with extensive additional data on poetry circles and poets on the prints.
[294] For a short discussion of this poet's commissions and some examples of *surimono* bearing his poem, see for instance Forrer (2013), pp. 17, 182-183, and 234.
[295] Forrer (2013), pp. 17-25.

than *kyōka* books were. Each *surimono* in an album represents an encounter, with a revered poet, with a fellow enthusiast, with a cultivated peer, etc. To *kyōka* researchers of today, such albums are invaluable primary material for investigating social interaction between *kyōka* poets.

Unfortunately, many albums have been disassembled in order to sell the prints separately. Often, traces of glue and thin and tiny scraps of paper are found around the edges of the reverse side of *surimono*, indicating that they were once mounted on a paper backing, most likely of such an album.[296] A small number of contemporaneous *surimono* albums have survived intact. Most notable among these are a set of three kept in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, known as the Duret albums, which were assembled by the Edo poet Nagashima Masahide 長島雅秀, also known as Kameyama 亀山.[297] Second, a *surimono* album formerly in the collection of novelist and folklorist Fujisawa Morihiko 藤澤衛彦 (1885-1967) and legated to Kamogawa City, Chiba Prefecture, belonged to one Saya no Uraeri 佐屋裏襟 (1780-1841, often using the pen name Imontei 衣紋亭), also from Edo.[298] A third example is the (former) set of two albums assembled by the poet Iga no Kurimi 意雅栗三, from Osaka. One album of this set (dismounted) is kept in the Rhode Island School of Design and the other in the Chiba City Museum of Art.[299] These three albums show strong similarities in configuration, relative obscurity of the assemblers, and presence of prefaces by prominent *kyōka* masters of the day inscribed - by request - into these albums. The extensive previous investigations of these albums provide the opportunity to plot how their original owners/assemblers were connected to poets of their era, and what their position was within their respective circles, networks and within *kyōka* society.

The albums assembled by Kameyama, Uraeri and Kurimi each contain similar proof of the position of these poets in *kyōka* society. They managed to acquire around twenty *surimono* per year on average.[300] Assuming, as does Keyes, that one could only receive a *surimono* in return for giving one, this means that the album owners, over the years, ordered around (or perhaps, at least) as many prints as the number they acquired. Each album does indeed contain *surimono* that feature a poem by the respective album owners, though not the same number as the number of years that were spent collecting the *surimono* in the albums. The *surimono* they received were issued by individual poets and by poetry circles of considerable variety. Although each album displays a certain tendency towards one or other circle that they were directly affiliated to, they by no means show any sign of exclusivity. The albums of Kameyama and Uraeri consist mostly of *surimono* produced in Edo, although an occasional print from outside the capital appears. Kameyama certainly had connections to poets outside Edo, proven by the fact that a poet from

[296] As noted by Kondō (1984 [1]), p. 28 and Mirviss and Carpenter (1995), p. 22.
[297] The Duret albums, which also contain some twenty manuscript item such as *tanzaku*, were extensively investigated by Kondō Eiko (1984 [1][2][3]) and received further treatment by Asano (1989).
[298] Reproduced in full and introduced by Nagata, S. and Katō (1998).
[299] The Kurimi albums were discussed by Roger Keyes (2004).
[300] Kameyama gathered a total of 439 between 1790 and 1812 - an average of 19 per year. Uraeri gathered a total of 242 between 1803 and 1812 - an average of 24 per year. Kurimi gathered a total of 166 between 1820 and 1828 - an average of 18 per year. It must be noted, however, that Kurimi acquired most of the 79 prints of his first album in one year, 1821, in Edo.

Osaka wrote a preface to the first of his three albums.[301] Kurimi, who apparently travelled to Edo in 1821 and perhaps maintained contacts afterwards, gathered prints mostly from Osaka and Edo. In other words, all three poets exchanged *surimono* with poets from the entire *kyōka* society. All albums feature both individually commissioned *surimono* and prints from *surimono* series, yet none of the albums contains a series in its entirety. This is further proof of the variety in direct personal connections between poets, regardless of their affiliations. Thus, *surimono* albums illustrate the position of an individual poet within various *kyōka* networks, as opposed to the *kyōka* books and *surimono* that demonstrate the workings of a circle or network situated above a community of poets.

4.6 Conclusions chapter four

One of the main attractions of the genre of *kyōka* was the opportunity to connect with other people, on a social and cultural level. And while participants interacted socially at gatherings, they were also connected through written correspondence and printed works. The basis of the genre was a cultural endeavor, but it was the competitive element that propelled the movement as a whole. The appending rewards - climbing in the ranks, prestige, and also tangible prizes - were ample motivation for poets from throughout the country to spend their money on tuition and participation fees. The increasingly organized structure of networks and their competitions resulted in an enviable output of deluxe publications. By appealing to a cultural elite - or better yet, elitist bourgeoisie - enough economically powerful amateurs could be mobilized. Combined with apparently sound accounting, *kyōka* circles and networks gained considerable financial momentum, so that entire restaurants could be hired, lavishly illustrated books and prints could be commissioned, and a portion of the *kyōka* masters could make a living from their activities in the genre. These are the fruits of a joyful social interaction that was institutionalized as the scale increased, in essence the result of a common goal harbored by entire networks of enthusiasts.

The institutionalized system of competitions and publications grew exponentially until the Bunka and Bunsei eras, when more *kyōka* books than *waka* books were issued. Although the printed output of the genre of *haikai* was always larger, the genre of *kyōka* reached an impressive scale. Taking the number of active *kyōka* poets into consideration reveals that every *kyōka* book or *surimono* represents a much greater number of participating poets than the number of poets actually printed in or on them. Especially behind *kyōka* competition result books are veritable 'pyramids' of competitors, of which only the top section can enjoy the pride of featuring in the book at all, let alone in the illustrated pages, when these were included. *Surimono* series too, reached their peak publication numbers in the Bunsei era. Contrary to what the sharp decline in *surimono* publication in the early years of the Tenpō era suggest, my investigation of *kyōka* books and ranking tables has shown that the activities of *kyōka* society did not all end as quickly.

Building on the successful formula initially discovered around the start of the Tenmei era, *kyōka* leaders helped create a world with its own set of standards and rankings. Many have argued that this world

[301] Kondō (1984 [2]), p. 4-5.

was less bent on traditional divisions of society by birth status; the poetry was judged based on literary merit, which resulted in a higher or lower rank within the circle or network. However, the hierarchies of the real world were never entirely out of view. The pen names *kyōka* poets used were by no means in place to secure any kind of anonymity. On the contrary, many *kyōka* books such as the ones I presented in this chapter make implicit or explicit mention of birth status of individual poets; some provide a family name and other biographical information, and even give a home address. These showed that, during the Bunka and Bunsei eras, birth status was certainly a factor in membership of one or other *kyōka* circle.

The structure of what I refer to as *kyōka* society also underwent considerable changes between the Tenmei era and the Bunsei era. Yet, the fundamental building block of that *kyōka* society was and continued to be the *kyōka* circle, led by a poetry master. What had started with one circle, revolving mainly around Ōta Nanpo, developed into more circles, since individual members attracted their own followers. These circles interconnected and essentially started forming the first networks of *kyōka* circles. *Kyōka* society as a whole grew into a nationwide structure of poetry masters, their circles, and networks of circles that were connected through for instance a lineage of style that they had in common. The large scale of the entire *kyōka* society, the publication of various teach-yourself *kyōka* guides, and the ostensibly more fluid membership of the Bunsei and Tenpō eras created the opportunity for individual *kyōka* poets to enter competitions regardless of the affiliations to the hosting circle or network. The fully-developed *kyōka* society, thus, came to consist of not only poets encapsulated in circles and networks, but of less officially connected poets as well. The poets featuring in *kyōka* books and in *surimono* series, however, usually have a clear affiliation to a well-established *kyōka* circle. Despite the large scale of the entire *kyōka* society, most poets secured tutelage from a *kyōka* master, perpetuating the historically constant arrangement of poetry master and pupil.

Chapter 5: Visualizing the classics: Intellectual networks and cultural nostalgia

5.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates how *kyōka* poets acquired their knowledge of classical literature, discusses the way in which poets and illustrators visualized literature in their projects, and reflects on what their motivations were for referring to specific elements in cultural history. Shunman's *kokugaku* connections have been elucidated by Tanaka, and *kokugaku* influences in two *surimono* series that Shunman designed in the first half of the 1810s have been researched by Carpenter.[302] My investigation continues on their approach by tracing how other major *kyōka* poets and *surimono* designers were connected to intellectual networks of their time; in particular to scholars of the classical texts that inspired literary *surimono* series. Moreover, textual information in the *surimono* is matched to contemporaneous scholarship. Did knowledge of classical literature enter *kyōka* society via printed exegetical texts in commercial editions, or are ties to scholars generally so close that *surimono* creators had access to such knowledge already before the general public did? How did *kyōka* poets relate to the ideological underpinnings of the *kokugaku* movement? And is there any relation between birth class and the influx of cultural knowledge detectable in *kyōka* society? Answering these questions will clarify where *surimono* creators gained their understanding of the classical texts they visualized, and what role each of these creators played.

Related to the overall characteristics of visualization of the classics and the provenance of knowledge, is the obvious tendency towards cultural nostalgia. *Kyōka* poets not only referred to the cultural past in their poetry; they also enacted it through competitions in a classical style and some poets were even known to sport classical dress. They not only visualized the classics, they lived it - albeit in the confines of *kyōka* gatherings. This is what McKee calls the "classical revival"; *kyōka* poets' attempts to become the "contemporary manifestation" of an idealized cultural past.[303] The cultural nostalgia that is evident from the *kyōka* materials from the 1780s through 1830s coincides with nativist tendencies in Edo thinking as expressed in the focus in contemporaneous scholarship on the reconstruction of purely Japanese history and arts. The people who engaged in *kyōka*, who present themselves as culturally savvy, appear to form an active part of this wave.

Kokugaku: scholarly and ideological movement

The term *kokugaku* ('national learning') applies to a tradition of philological scholarship aimed at achieving a better understanding of classical texts in Japanese, as well as the ideological movement that it evolved into. Many of the eighteenth century scholars now associated with (the onset of) this tradition actually commonly used the term *wagaku* ('Japanese learning'), as opposed to *kangaku* ('Chinese

[302] Tanaka (1993 [1][2][3]); Carpenter (2004). These two series, *Torikaebaya monogatari* and *Kamakurashi*, were commissioned by poets affiliated to the Hakuraku circle.
[303] McKee (2008 [1]), p. 430.

learning').[304] *Kokugaku* scholars favored the philological method of *kōshōgaku* 考証学, 'critical philology', meticulously tracing the etymologies and meanings of words and expressions encountered in classical texts.[305] Their production of commentaries on classical texts has had three major (interacting) outcomes; wider access to scholarship, the formation of a canon of Japanese literature, and the development of a nativist discourse.

First, *kokugaku* scholars succeeded in breaking through the elite monopoly on the study of texts originally produced largely at and for the imperial court. Earlier commentaries on classical texts were written by aristocrats who were rather secretive about the sources of their knowledge.[306] The divide between 'Old commentaries' from the imperial court tradition on the one hand and the 'New commentaries' by *kokugaku* scholars on the other has been discussed by Thomas J. Harper, who has carefully investigated and discussed the developments in *Genji monogatari* commentaries during the eighteenth century.[307] Respective social backgrounds of the 'Old' and the 'New' scholars played a significant role in approach, asserts Harper.[308] Naturally, the effect of zealous academics who opposed to the secretive stance of earlier scholars was that newly uncovered knowledge of classical texts was disseminated to a much wider audience than before. *Kokugaku* scholars taught students and also published their new commentaries, which in turn led to an emancipation of knowledge of classical literature.

Second, the choice for certain texts as object of study in turn contributed to the formation of the canon of Japanese literature as it was perceived by the non-aristocratic population. When non-aristocratic *kokugaku* scholars devoted their time to texts that had not reached the general population at an earlier stage, this created the possibility relatively unknown texts became part of the body of literature with which the majority of the literate Japanese were acquainted. This meant that judgement of what constituted Japanese literature shifted from the elite - limited in number - to a large part of the entire population. Provided that the elite were preoccupied with any judgement of the Japanese canon in the first place. For, as Harper states: "As far as the nobility were concerned, the notion of what we now call Japanese Literature did not exist. The literature of Japan was not a national heritage. It was the family property of the nobles whose ancestors had written it - or at best the cultural heritage of the aristocratic class."[309]

Third, *kokugaku* scholars were certainly preoccupied with that notion of Japanese literature; the *kokugaku* movement not only studied the contents of classical Japanese texts - they also sought to isolate the essence of the 'Japanese spirit' as captured in these texts. This is particularly true for medical doctor

[304] Burns (2003), p. 2; Nosco (1990), p. 94.
[305] Winkel (2004), explains that *kōshōgaku* 考証学 (which she translates as "evidential research") was a "new development in Confucianism", in China that is, which "emerged as a reaction against the established speculative and normative Neo-Confucian world-view" (p. 3.).
[306] Harper (2000), pp. 113-116; Marra and Motoori (2007), pp. 4-5.
[307] Harper (2000), pp. 106-123.
[308] Harper (2000), p. 121, traces the denomination of 'Old' and 'New' to the poet and literary scholar Hagiwara Hiromichi 萩原広道 (1813/5-1863).
[309] Harper (2000), pp. 119.

and prominent *kokugakusha* of the late eighteenth century Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801), who is known for the way he combined literary scholarship and nativist ideology. But also before him, starting with the Shingon Buddhist monk and literary scholar Keichū 契沖 (1640-1701), regarded as the first of the 'New commentators',[310] various scholars took part in what Susan Burns calls "a series of attacks on the transculturalism and transhistoricism that had been the intellectual norm."[311] In the words of Peter Nosco: "One of the most conspicuous features of nativist thought in eighteenth-century Japan was its vilification of Buddhism and Confucianism as "foreign" creeds alleged to have had a deleterious impact upon the national character and polity."[312] In order to counteract the influence of "China" on Japanese language and culture, focus was placed on 'ancient' texts that were thought to contain an uncontaminated version of Japanese culture.

Cultural nostalgia in *kokugaku*

The combination of scholarship on Japanese classical texts and nativist ideologies reflects a distinct longing for a bygone era of Japanese culture. My use of the term nostalgia acknowledges the discussion of that term by Nosco - in relation to Japanese nativist discourse - who describes it in part as an emotion: "When one is dissatisfied with one's immediate situation, it can be a comforting exercise to imagine and construct a more pleasing idealized environment.".[313] This succinct statement actually encompasses an idea of what constitutes nostalgia, why one would harbor such feelings, and how to cope with them. The question that remains is who these sufferers from such nostalgia were. The *kokugaku* movement itself was not main stream during the eighteenth century, explains Harper.[314] If only a handful of early *kokugakusha* and the limited number of their followers could be said to foster this nostalgia for ancient Japan, the movement would have not been of great impact. By the early nineteenth century, however, the work of Norinaga and fellow scholars received further recognition and numbers of scholars and students had increased. Increased publication of *kokugaku* scholarship points to a broader readership as well. This should not be a surprise, given the fact that the *kokugaku* commentaries were in part aimed at making classical texts available, as well as readable, to a wider audience.

The position of *kyōka* networks:
Connections to scholarship

This chapter looks at where the *kyōka* society of the late eighteenth, early nineteenth century was positioned in this context of *kokugaku* scholarship, canon formation, nativist ideology, and cultural nostalgia. I will touch on the main conclusions here in advance, before moving on to the contents of the investigations that led me to these. The interest in *kokugaku* scholarship and the proximity to *kokugaku*

[310] The aforementioned Hagiwara Hiromichi was the first to do so. See Harper (2000), pp. 107-8.
[311] Burns (2003), p. 52.
[312] Nosco (1990), p. 41.
[313] Nosco (1990), p. 4.
[314] Harper (2000), pp. 116-7.

scholars on the part of certain *kyōka* poets has been amply demonstrated in previous studies as mentioned above. Below, I will present further connections to *kokugaku* scholarship that became clear from my investigations of the *Tosa nikki* and *Tsurezuregusa surimono* series. It deserves to be stressed once again here that my research reveals that the many connections to *kokugaku* scholarship were by no means exclusive. The many instances where knowledge of Chinese literary classics and historical figures appears in *surimono*, reveals that Chinese culture was all but ignored.[315] Many *kyōka* poetry groups commissioned (series of) *surimono* on Chinese subjects, even if major figures in that group were themselves *kokugaku* scholars, such as in the case of the Asakusagawa.[316] Another example is prominent *surimono* designer and poet Gakutei, who participated in the translation of a Chinese novel. This does not make him a *kangaku* scholar per se, yet it demonstrates that active engagement with Chinese literature was also present in *kyōka* networks.

Surimono **production as contribution to canon formation**

Surimono inspired by works of classical literature outside the canon that was usually treated in commercially published prints occupy a unique position in the reception history of those texts. Many of the literary *surimono* series were inspired by texts dating from the Heian period, whether well-known or obscure. In the case of the *Tale of Genji*, which from olden times had known a tradition of alternating text and illustrations in the format of picture hand scrolls, *emakimono* 絵巻物, or the *Tales of Ise*, which appeared in an illustrated woodblock printed *sagabon* 嵯峨本[317] edition first in 1608, the iconography for the illustration of the principal incidents had been well-established.[318] However, for *Tosa nikki* or *Torikaebaya monogatari*, for example, no illustrated publications can be identified prior to their illustration on *surimono* by Kubo Shunman in the 1810s.[319] Consequently, these *surimono* feature both novel literary allusions and illustrations outside the realm of existing pictorial traditions. First, an overview of literary *surimono* series will be given, with comments on approach to both illustration and poetry, and their place in the reception history of the respective works of classical literature. Then follow the principal case studies in this chapter; the investigation of the visualization of *Tosa nikki* and *Tsurezuregusa* in *surimono* by Shunman and other designers, analysing what kind of "new iconographies", as Carpenter calls them, were being established.[320] This approach will help judge whether the poets and designers involved in the various *surimono* series should be understood to constitute a cultural avant-garde breaking new ground in the reception of classical literature, or whether they should be seen as enthusiasts who trailed behind

[315] This is actually more often the case in single sheet publications than in *surimono* series.
[316] See biography of Sensōan Ichindo in section 5.2.1, as well as the overview of *surimono* series in appendix III. For connections between the Asakusagawa and *kokugaku* scholarship, specifically for the case of Hokusai, see Machotka (2009), pp. 178-186.
[317] Deluxe productions, printed on tinted paper, usually printed with movable type. Named after the town of Saga 嵯峨 near Kyoto, where these books were produced in the early 1600s.
[318] See for instance Murase (1983), Mostow and Tyler (2010). Mostow (2014), pp. 240-242, has distinguished two lineages of iconographies for *Ise monogatari*; that of the *sagabon* and that derived from the painting workshop of Tawaraya Sōtatsu 俵屋宗達 (n.d., 17th century).
[319] The *Torikaebaya monogatari surimono* series was investigated by Carpenter (2004).
[320] Carpenter (2008).

scholarship of the time, or even followed behind the cross-over from scholarship to popular knowledge.

Choice for new or old scholarship and the positions that *surimono* series occupy in contemporary scholarly debate

Around the time the *Tosa nikki surimono* series was issued, the mid-1810s, there was a sudden increase in the publication of commentaries and annotated editions. Until the 1810s, the most recent major commentary to *Tosa nikki* was a written by the famous poet and scholar on classical Japanese literature Kitamura Kigin 北村季吟 (1624-1705), issued in 1648. In the second half of the 1810s, three influential commentaries were published: Fujitani Mitsue **富士谷御杖** (1768-1823) from Kyoto wrote *Tosa nikki tomoshibi* **土佐日記灯** (*'Shedding light on Tosa nikki'*) in 1816, which was circulated a year later - apparently in manuscript only. Kishimoto Yuzuru, from Edo, wrote the *Tosa nikki kōshō* 土佐日記考証 (*'Evidential commentary on Tosa nikki'*) that he finished in 1815, and first published in 1819.[321] Another year later, in 1820, *Kōchū Tosa nikki* **校註土佐日記** (*'An annotated Tosa nikki'*), written by Katō Isotari **加藤磯足** (1747/8-1809) from Owari domain (present-day Nagoya), appeared in print. This was a posthumous publication, apparently at the instigation of Ichioka Takehiko **市岡猛彦** (1781-1827), a fellow pupil under Motoori Norinaga.[322] The time lapse between the work of 'Old commentator' Kigin and these three early nineteenth century *kokugaku* scholars is remarkably long. Though other books had been issued in between, these were - judging from their use as reference work to date, as well as the number of copies surviving - not of lasting importance.[323] This is corroborated by Kishimoto Yuzuru, who states that although many annotations had appeared, Kigin was the most widely referred to.[324]

A close comparison to the commentaries reveals that the work by Kigin was relied on for spelling of the introductory paragraphs on the *surimono* in the *Tosa nikki* series. For instance, that of the 22nd day of the 12th month corresponds with the spelling in Kigin, which differs from that in Mabuchi/Nabiko, Isotari and Yuzuru.[325]

On the *surimono*:

kami shi naka mo ei akite itoayashiku shioumi no hotori nite asareaeru

[321] *Tosa nikki kōshō* was published in two volumes. I hereby express my gratitude to Mr. J. Kikuchi at J-texts (http://www.j-texts.com/pdfcd/0102.html), for providing me with the digital photographs of a (late 19th century) reprint edition of *Tosa nikki kōshō*, kept in the Fukazawa Akio Collection.
[322] As is stated in the preface (dated 1818) to this work, by Hata Kanae 秦鼎 (1761-1831).
[323] An overview of available books concerning the *Tosa nikki* is given in appendix II. Apart from printed editions, copied editions of sorts (*shahon*) surviving today are also added to this inventory. This data is all derived from the online databases of the National Institute of Japanese Literature: http://www.nijl.ac.jp/contents/d_library/index.html.
[324] In his own preface to his *Tosa nikki kōshō*.
[325] Kigin's spelling is congruent with the manuscript copied by Fujiwara Teika. See Hagitani (1974), p. 62. Data and characters for Mabuchi, Nabiko, and Yuzuru to follow below. Commentary by Mabuchi/Nabiko dates from 1771 (see appendix II). The text by Fujitani Mitsue could not be verified.

かみしなかもゑひあきていとあやしくしほうみのほとりにてあされあへる

Kitamura Kigin:

kami shi naka mo ei akite itoayashiku shioumi no hotori nite asareaeru

かみしなかもゑひあきていとあやしくしほうみのほとりにてあされあへる

Kamo no Mabuchi/Katori Nabiko:

kami naka shimo ei akite, itoayashiku shioumi no hotori nite azareaeru

かみなかしもゑひあきて、いとあやしくしほうみのほとりにてあざれあへる

Kishimoto Yuzuru:

kami naka shimo ei sugite itoayashiku shioumi no hotori nite azareaeri

かみなかしもゑひすぎていとあやしくしほうみのほとりにてあざれあへり

Katō Isotari:

kami naka shimo ei sugite itoayashiku shioumi no hotori nite azareaeru

かみなかしもゑひすぎていとあやしくしほ海のほとりにてあざれあへる

Since Kitamura Kigin wrote the best-known commentaries on *Genji monogatari*, titled *Kogetsushō* 湖月抄 (‘*Moon over the lake commentary*’, 1673), his commentary on *Tosa nikki* was a logical choice for *surimono* creators to rely on. The authority of Kigin’s *Kogetsushō* is acknowledged in several *kyōka* illustrations; see for instance figs 15 and 16.[326] This is actually not unique to *kyōka*; the wooden box holding the 60-volume work appears in various commercially published ukiyoe as well. Despite the fact that new research on *Tosa nikki* was being carried out around the time that this text was chosen as subject for the *surimono* series, the creators of that series rather relied on Kigin’s work that had been the standard for 140 years. Of course, it is possible that this *surimono* series was issued even before the most recent studies - and alternative spellings - by Yuzuru and Isotari had become available to the poets and the designer.

[326] Yet another example is illustrated in Kok (2010), p. 70.

Fig. 15. The poet (Senbaien 千梅園) Karakoto 唐琴 from Sendai, reading the second volume (out of 60) of *Kogetsushō*. Featured on *chō* 3 verso of *Kyōka eiyū jinbutsushi* 狂歌英勇人物誌 (‘*Record of kyōka heroes*’), edited by Shiseidō Sutena, Kinjuen Futaki and Sairaikyo Mibutsu, illustrated by Keisai Eisen. Private publication, possibly instigated by meeting organizer (*saishu* 催主) and Gogawa judge Shōeishi Futaba 松栄子二葉. Not dated, but c. 1820s, coll. National Institute of Japanese Literature, inv. no. ナ2-229.

Fig. 16. The poet Ikedai Hireo 生鯛鰭雄 (KJJ, p. 190), 4 recto in *Kyōka gazō sakusha burui jō* 狂歌画像作者部類 上 ('*Illustrated categorization of kyōka poets*', upper volume), edited by Rokujuen, illustrated by Hōtei Gosei, published by Bunkōdō 文光堂 in Bunka 8, 1811, coll. National Institute of Japanese Literature, inv. no. ナ2-237.

***Kyōka* poets did not strictly subscribe to nativist ideology**

The way in which *kyōka* poets of both commoner and samurai descent visualized the classics fits into a pattern of appropriation of the cultural past otherwise guarded by the court nobility such as discussed above, as well as professional *waka* poets who were not members of the nobility. Indeed, *surimono* creators did not shy away from subjects that could be considered as belonging to more elite, and historically unapproachable layers of society. The content of such *surimono* in general prove that allusions were more than superficial, demonstrating a profound knowledge of the classical texts that were eagerly studied and introduced to a wider audience as part of a shared cultural heritage. To some extent, appreciation of the classics made its way also to commercial prints and books, crossing over to popular culture and common knowledge. The sincere and direct interest in the classics as expressed in *surimono* displayed a level of involvement that was, however, beyond the scope of commercial publications. As such, *surimono* - and, to some extent, *kyōka* books - represent material manifestations of larger tendencies towards cultural nostalgia in Edo period intellectual milieus.

In contrast to ideological aspects of *kokugaku*, cultural nostalgia in *kyōka* is inclusive, in the sense

that foreign influences such as Buddhism and Confucianism are not subject to the "vilification" detected by Nosco.[327] This is also one of McKee's conclusions: "*Kyōka surimono* thus operate by extending an open-ended, non-exclusive receptivity to every available aspect of cultural experience, gathering up all manner of categories, beings and activities into its storehouse of signifiers, for meaningful arrangement in the text-image complexes of its signifying space."[328] Indeed, the same Asakusagawa that commissioned *surimono* series on classical Japanese literary themes also issued the series such as *Five Tiger Generals*, *Gokō shōgun* 五虎将軍, essentially a subject of Chinese origin, despite the fact that the *kyōka* circle leader himself was actively involved in *kokugaku*. *Surimono* series related to Confucianism are scarce, but two complete series on the Japanese version of the twenty-four paragons of filial piety prove that such foreign influences were by no means off-limits.

It is questionable, then, whether the treatment of foreign themes and texts in *surimono* and *kyōka* books can be explained as part of a tendency of cultural self-identification - in this case, identifying the other as a means for identifying the self. The aim to distinguish original Japanese values from foreign - principally Chinese - influences, which is attributed to much of the ideological aspects of the *kokugaku* movement, is often interpreted as a way of isolating a national cultural identity. One could indeed argue that the contemporaneous current of cultural self-identification through study of classical texts - whether Japanese or Chinese for that matter - is evident in a good portion of *kyōka* materials. In general, however, the nostalgia prevails over the debate. In an article on Chinese influences in books and prints from the 1750s to the 1850s, Ellis Tinios detects: "a vision of a land in which those disenchanted with their own society imagined men of their sensibilities were valued".[329] Tinios - incorporating a quotation from Marius B. Jansen - states that "For Japan, China 'served as classical antiquity, a Renaissance Italy, and an eighteenth-century France all in one'. China as an abstraction also played an important role within Japan".[330] Evidence of this can be found in the appearance of comparisons between China and Japan in *kyōka* materials, with titles using the term *wakan* 和漢, in fact matching the classical 'Wa (Yamato) and Han'.[331] *Kyōka* materials and *surimono* in particular display an awareness of the debates and developing thoughts on national identity, yet include classical Chinese examples in their nostalgia rather than oppose to these.

Kyōka materials from Edo refer and allude to *kokugaku* thought, but do not take a strong ideological stance. Although the body of *surimono* series displays a distinct penchant for classical subjects throughout,

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[327] Nosco (1990), p. 41.
[328] McKee (2008 [1]), p. 515-516.
[329] Tinios (1998), p. 25. This quote particularly pertains to painting manuals, but I take the notion to apply to printed materials relating to China in a broader sense.
[330] Tinios (1998), p. 19. Quote from Jansen, Marius B. (1995), *Japan and its world: Two centuries of change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), p. 11.
[331] For instance, a set of two commissioned by the Shūchōdōshachū, designed by Gakutei in the 1820s. See appendix III. Another example - despite not mentioning *wakan* in the title - is the series *Bunbōshiyū* 文房四友 ('*Four friends of the writing table*') designed by Gakutei, in which four Japanese and four Chinese literary and historical figures are presented.

surimono series actually directly referring to the ancient texts that were studied by in relation to the (mythical) creation of Japan are rare.[332] Only two sets come to mind: '*The rock door of spring*', *Haru no iwato* 春の岩戸, a pentaptych commissioned by the Taikogawa and designed by Gakutei for 1825, and the series '*Three imperial jewels*', *Sanshu no jingi* 三種の神器, commissioned by the Sugawararen and designed by Sadakage around 1830.[333] McKee states that "Without the textual studies of *kokugaku*, which transformed works such as *Kojiki* ("Record of Ancient Matters," the primary source of Japanese mythology), *Manyōshū* ("The Collection of Myriad Leaves," the first poetry anthology) and many other texts into available knowledge, the *surimono* movement could not have taken the form that it did, full of cross-references between present configuration and the world of the past that such texts represented."[334] Although I do agree that the philological endeavors by *kokugaku* scholars enabled *surimono* creators to handle such a wide range of classical literature, I have not found the incorporation of the ancient texts to be strongly represented in the oeuvre as a whole. *Kyōka* society in general favored nostalgia over nativism.

Cultural nostalgia in *kyōka*

Cultural nostalgia presents itself in various forms in *kyōka* materials. Carpenter discussed such nostalgia in the *surimono* oeuvre of Shunman, although he refers to it as "antiquarian imagination" (and also "classical imagination"); McKee favors the term "classicism" in his discussion of *surimono* in general.[335] I have no objections to their use of these terms in the content of their respective discussions. I choose, however, for 'cultural nostalgia' for the manifestations I recognize in *kyōka* publications at large. In my view, the term antiquarian is not applicable to the bulk of *kyōka* materials since many publications take their inspiration from texts considerably 'younger' than the works from Japanese antiquity. Many *surimono* series refer to texts and cultural figures from medieval times, or even as 'recent' as the Genroku era (1688-1704). Furthermore, many *surimono* series actually depict contemporaneous objects and fashions. For that reason, the term 'classicism' also does not always apply. The term 'imagination' corresponds in part to my use of the word 'visualization' in connection to text and image in *surimono*. Although 'imagination' captures the fictional characteristics of the kind of treatment classical texts and historical figures were be often subjected to in *surimono*, I prefer the term 'nostalgia' for carrying a connotation of 'longing for', whether it is for a bygone era, a person or place of cultural merit, or even a local product of superior quality.

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[332] McKee (2008 [1]), p. 471, asserts: "[…] it was far less the ancient past that surimono idealized, rather than the later age of high court […]".
[333] See the overview of *surimono* series in appendix III. *Haru no iwato* depicts five primary figures featuring in the mythical creation of Japan. The 'three jewels' refers to the imperial regalia - the sword Kusanagi (草薙劍 *Kusanagi no tsurugi*), the mirror, and the *magatama* (曲玉, curved jewel). In this case, these are represented as *mitate*: Each print depicts an elegant lady holding for instance make-up mirrors, or a ball (*tama*). See Forrer (2013), p. 299.
[334] McKee (2006), p. 19.
[335] Carpenter (2004); McKee (2008 [1]).

5.2 Intellectual networks and provenance of cultural and literary knowledge

5.2.1 Links between *kyōka* poets and scholars of Japanese and Chinese literature

Surimono research of recent decades has uncovered numerous links between *surimono* creators - both poets and designers - and *kokugaku* scholarship. McKee in particular, provides a general characterization of the relation between *surimono* and classical literature: "Here, in sharp contrast to commercial *ukiyo-e*, which even when reflecting on the past took its primary interest from the twin pillars of urban culture, kabuki and the pleasure quarters, a straight, *kokugaku*-style reverence of literature and the classical work can be seen [in *surimono*].", admitting however, that "[…] although the *kokugaku*-venerated *Manyōshū* was an important inspiration for many *kyōka*/*haikaika* poets, Magao included, the *Kokinshū* style of logical statement and poetic artifice was by far the more dominant model for these poets."[336] Indeed, in spite of the many *surimono* series on classical Japanese literature, references to ancient texts are virtually non-existent.

My focus here is specifically on who brought knowledge of classical literature into *kyōka* circles, what this says about the position of scholarly debates of the time as reflected in *kyōka surimono*, and whether there is any relation between birth class and (access to) knowledge of classical literature. With that aim in mind, I have selected a number of prominent figures, whose connections to scholarship on literature I will investigate. The selection criteria are twofold: first, involvement in *surimono* series that take Japanese or Chinese classical literature as subject, as shown in appendix III. Second, involvement in the *surimono* series taken as case studies in section 5.3; the *Tosa nikki* series and the three series on *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草 ('*Essays in Idleness*', written by the priest Yoshida Kenkō 吉田兼好 (c.1283-c.1350)). The networks of these figures are clearly intertwined and additional figures from *kyōka* society will appear occasionally in the description of the selected individuals.

Kubo Shunman (1757-1820)

Kubo Shunman designed and produced the highest number of *surimono* directly linked to classical literature. When Shunman worked on the designs for the *Tosa nikki surimono* series, he was already around 60 years old and could look back on an impressive career as a versatile artist and writer successful in different genres. The wide array of contacts these activities yielded has been part of the articles by Tanaka (1993) and Carpenter (2004). Shunman was of relatively simple birth status - essentially coming from the artisan class - but was well educated in the arts. Focusing on the scholars studying *Tosa nikki* exactly around that time, we find that Shunman was connected to at least one of them directly, or via a common acquaintance. Consequently, he likely had knowledge of, or even access to, ongoing scholarship on this text.

For instance, one of the major exegetical texts on *Tosa nikki* was written by Edo scholar Kishimoto

[336] McKee (2008 [1]), p. 470.

Yuzuru 岸本由豆流 (1788-1846). His manuscript seems to have been finished by 1815, but was only first published in 1819. Yuzuru was a youngster in comparison to Shunman, but apparently a talented scholar. He authored numerous *kōshō* 考証, 'evidential commentaries', some only circulating in manuscript, others also in print. Yuzuru contributed many a preface, for instance to posthumous (annotated) editions of scholarship by Motoori Norinaga. Given Shunman's reverence for Norinaga, and a shared field of interest, Kishimoto Yuzuru must have been an author with whom Shunman was familiar. Furthermore, Yuzuru wrote prefaces to books illustrated by Kitao Masayoshi and Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) too during the Kyōwa and Bunka eras, which shows that he also had links to *ukiyoe* publishers.

Shunman and Yuzuru may have actually been introduced to each other, for instance through their mutual acquaintance Kitamura Intei 喜多村筠庭 (1783-1856, also Kitamura Nobuyo 信節). According to Tanaka Tatsuya, Shunman and Intei 'understood each other very well'.[337] Intei was a *kōshōgakusha* who had contact with Yuzuru professionally.[338] As mentioned before, this connection suggests that Shunman was aware of Yuzuru's research and had access to it before it was published - i.e. around the same time that the *Tosa nikki* series was issued. Furthermore, among Yuzuru's many books on Japanese classical texts are also evidential commentaries on *Tsurezuregusa*, and *Torikaebaya monogatari*, each in five volumes.[339] Shunman designed two *surimono* series based on these same texts for different poetry groups in 1811 and c.1813. It is unknown whether the period in which Yuzuru worked on his manuscripts for these texts predates the *surimono* series or not, yet it is notable that three major literary *surimono* series revolve around the same texts that Yuzuru researched in his career.[340]

Yuzuru notes that *kokugaku* scholar and painter Katori Nabiko 楫取魚彦 (1723-1782, sometimes also transcribed Nahiko), who had been Shunman's teacher, had also added explanations to an annotated *Tosa nikki* text written by Nabiko's own teacher, the prominent *kokugaku* scholar and poet Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697-1769). This survives in a manuscript from Nabiko's own brush, dated 1771.[341] Although the manuscript did not appear in print at the time, it is possible that former pupil Shunman had access to a copy of this manuscript.

As shown in appendix II, two other exegetical works on *Tosa nikki* were finished and/or published around the same time or shortly after Yuzuru's work. Personal connections between Shunman and the authors of these other two *Tosa nikki* books could not be uncovered. In any case, the other authors lived in Kyoto and Nagoya, which made regular encounters and discussions impossible. Although it is likely that

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[337] Tanaka (1993 [3]), p. 4.
[338] Ichiko (1993-1999), vol. 2, p. 41.
[339] See NIJL databases. Unfortunately, the dates of publication are known for neither *Tsurezuregusa kōshō* 徒然草考証 nor *Shin Torikaebaya monogatari kōshō* 新とりかへばや物語考証. Both seem to have circulated in manuscript form only.
[340] *Torikaebaya monogatari*, *Tsurezuregusa*, and *Tosa nikki*.
[341] Yuzuru mentions the title *Tosa nikki uchigiki* 土佐日記打聞 ('Tosa nikki *from hearsay*'), yet the manuscript is titled *Tosa nikki Agatai no setsu* 土佐日記県居説('*The explanation of Tosa nikki by Agatai*'). Agatai was one of the names of Kamo no Mabuchi. See Ide and Furuta (1955) and (1956).

earlier (manuscript) versions of the *Tosa nikki* were available to Shunman and the poets, it is assumed here that the renewed attention for this classic within the *kokugaku* movement and by Yuzuru in particular, played a role in the choice of the *Tosa nikki* as a theme for the *surimono* series. In section 5.3.1 of this chapter, an investigation of the *Tosa nikki surimono* series will be presented, with remarks on possible traces findings by Yuzuru and others, where applicable.

Bunbunsha Kanikomaru (1780-1837)

Bunbunsha Kanikomaru, common name Kubo Yasujūrō 久保泰十郎, was of samurai birth, and held an official position as *yoriki* (police official) in the *bakufu* administration.[342] Despite his official duties, he apparently managed to spend much time on *kyōka* activities. Poems by Bunbunsha can be found on numerous other *surimono* and in many *kyōkabon* as well. He selected poems for some fifteen *kyōka* anthologies, many of which were illustrated by Gakutei. A portrait and a biography of Bunbunsha are included in *Kyōka kijintan* of 1824, written and illustrated by Gakutei. According to the biography Bunbunsha regularly studied 'classics', *keigaku* 経学, a school of Confucianism aimed at understanding classic Chinese Confucianist texts. The study of Confucianist texts corresponds with the emphasis in the usual samurai education curriculum. When Bunbunsha headed the Katsushikaren in the 1820s, this (large) circle issued *surimono* series and *kyōka* books consistently. These were almost exclusively designed by Gakutei. Many of the *surimono* series revolve around selections of historical figures, of literary or military importance.[343] Only one series commissioned by the Katsushikaren explicitly focuses on a classical literature: *Uji shūi monogatari*, issued in 1826. The overall Katsushikaren 'oeuvre' of books and *surimono*, however, displays no particular preoccupation with Japanese classical literature. Despite the fact that Bunbunsha was apparently well schooled in Chinese, the Katsushikaren did not issue *surimono* series based on works of Chinese classical literature. Bunbunsha's involvement as co-commissioner of the *Tosa nikki* series predates the commissions made by the Katsushikaren by several years.

Shōfūdai Teitei (n.d.)

Shōfūdai is the elder brother of Bunbunsha's, also of samurai extraction. A portrait and poem of his feature in the *kyōka* anthology *Kyōka gokusaishiki hyakunin isshu* ('*One hundred poets in multicolor, one kyōka each*', date unknown), selected by Bunbunsha and illustrated by Gakutei.[344] He is seated in front of a large and well-filled book cabinet, reading in a book that lies on a red lacquer table. Both the table and the Chinese sword stand in the background seem to point to a taste for Chinese objects. Shōfūdai is portrayed as well-read man, but unfortunately, no titles are inscribed on books or book cases, which would have

[342] KJJ, p. 51.
[343] For instance the largest series '*Twenty-four generals for the Katsushikaren*'. See Kok (2008). Another example of a set of military figures is *Buke rokkasen* 武家六歌仙, '*Six immortal warrior poets*', issued in 1825.
[344] A copy of this book is kept in the Art Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 5-1-33. Last illustration, sheet number unknown. Not all copies of this book contain the *kuchie* in the front and the portraits of Shōfūdai, Bunbunsha and Sutena in the back.

made it possible to judge his literary interests. According to KJJ, he was judge for the Kankōgawa (the *kyōka* circle of Akera Kankō) and Kankō later bestowed his pen name Wainandō 淮南堂 upon him. He (co-)compiled a number of *kyōka* publications under this name, one of which was illustrated by - among others - Shunman somewhere during the Bunka era.[345] Shōfūdai was involved in several *surimono* commissions to Shunman - *Tosa nikki* being one - and the connection between the two seems to have been lasting.

Hisakataya Misora (n.d.)

Despite appearing on *surimono* frequently and obviously leading an active *kyōka* group, Hisakataya Misora 久堅屋未曽良 cannot be found in KJJ. Perhaps one of the reasons for this is the fact that Hisakataya - oddly - was not the selector for any *kyōka* books, keeping him out of publishing records. Hisakataya cannot be found in *kyōka gazō sakusha burui* either. Therefore, little biographical information, nor information on his social status can be presented here. Besides the *Tosae awase* and *Tosa nikki* series, connections between Hisakataya and Bunbunsha can also be found in other *surimono* series. They issued a series on the *jūnishi* 十二支 (*Twelve zodiac signs*, artist unknown) in 1819 together, yet from 1820 onwards, they seem to go their separate ways. Hisakataya's circle issues at least three pentaptychs around the mid 1820s, two of these designed by Gakutei and one by Ryūryūkyo Shinsai. Bunbunsha does not appear in these sets. The pentaptych Hisakataya Nakanochō 久かた屋仲の町 ('*Nakanochō street*[346] *for the Hisakataya poetry circle*', designed by Gakutei around 1827). Out of ten poems in this pentaptych, three poems are written by Hisakataya, and among the rest one each by Hanamitei Tokiwa 花見亭常盤 (n.d.), Amanoya Wakashiba 天の屋若芝 (n.d.), Suihōtei Komatsu 翠峯亭小松 (n.d.), and Sawanoya Katsumi 沢の舎勝見 (n.d.).

Hisakataya's circle is clearly tightly knit, since these four poets are also found in the *Tosa nikki* series of some ten years earlier and in other series issued in between as well. Apart from Tokiwa, these poets have not been found in connection with Bunbunsha anywhere else, which suggests it was Hisakataya who introduced them to the earlier *Tosa nikki* project. Tokiwa seems to be the only one who keeps in touch with both Hisakataya and Bunbunsha, although he appears far more often on *surimono* from Hisakataya's circle. Hisakataya and his circle of poets can be regarded as wealthy patrons rather than the more successful poets in a large organization. Many of their *surimono* series feature the same poets and in some cases, Hisakataya himself is featured on almost every print in a set. The *surimono* commissions by the Hisakatayaren are not marked by a specific *kokugaku* interest. If anything, focus was placed on the depiction of fashionable women.

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[345] Tanaka (1993 [3]), p. 25. This book is called *Kyōka hototogisu sanjūrokkasen* 狂歌時鳥三十六歌仙 ('*The 36 immortal kyōka singing cuckoos*'). NIJL gives 1831 as date for this book, but this seems unlikely given the years of death of Shunman (1820) and Rokujuen (1830). Perhaps this concerns a later reprint (one copy, kept in TNM).
[346] Main street in the Yoshiwara pleasure quarter. Information on this series in Mirviss and Carpenter (1995), pp. 74-75, and Forrer (2013), pp. 236-237. In both catalogs, all five prints are reproduced.

Sensōan Ichindo (1755-1821)

The head of the Asakusagawa was the successful *kyōka* poet Sensōan Ichindo, also known as Tsubotsubo Chinjin. He made his money as a pawnbroker and started his own *kyōka* group after leaving the Hakurakugawa 伯楽側 poetry group headed by Shunman.[347] This new group was initially called Tsubogawa 壺側 ('Jug group'), after his other pen name; the name Asakusagawa based on the fact that the circle was located in Asakusa. The Sino-Japanese pronunciation of Asakusa is Sensō, as in Sensōji 浅草寺, the main temple in Asakusa. Sensōan functioned as judge at poetry contests and selected the poems for many Asakusagawa *kyōka* books. Most of these books were privately published for distribution among the club members. These appear in varying bindings and with varying covers and titles in Japanese collections.[348]

According to Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 (1766-1822) in his overview of the *kyōka* world *Kyōkakei* 狂歌觿 ('*Kyōka connections*')[349], Sensōan lived on the corner of Tawaramachidōri, in Higashinaka-chō, in the Asakusa district of Edo. As with every judge in *Kyōkakei*, a brief biography is given for Sensōan, together with ten poems on various subjects by the master, and twenty *kyōka* poems by other poets, which he gave high scores. Convenient for the *kyōka*-lover of those days, a sample of Sensōan's handwriting and his method of rating poems are given too. Apparently, he writes the number of points in red ink on the back of *tanzaku* poem slips that are submitted to him, ranging from a minimum of three to a maximum of thirteen points. Beneath this are samples of his personal stamps, one of which closely resembles the jar-shaped series cartouche that was used for the *Tsurezuregusa* series.[350]

Sensōan and Shunman had been members of the same Hakuraku poetry group in earlier times, and Sensōan could still depend on Shunman to design a *surimono* series for him after he established his own poetry group. Carpenter describes the relationship between Shunman and Sensōan as follows:

> Along with Rokujuen, the original Hakuraku Circle included several members who would eventually establish reputations as scholars of classical literature and National Learning, most notably Sensōan

[347] Suga (1936 [1]), pp. 319-20. For some facts, Suga quotes from an unpublished manuscript by Emaya Gakusuke IV, most likely that which is now kept in the Collection Iwase Bunko, Nishio Municipal Library, Aichi Prefecture. See also Carpenter (2004).

[348] See section 3.3.2 on the Asakusagawa *kyōkabon* publications.

[349] Based on the copy kept in the Waseda University library, inv. no. 〳〵09 02839 0001. This copy contains an addendum to (the) earlier edition(s), which introduces the judges of the Asakusagawa. On the first page of the colophon, an announcement is squeezed in between two book adverts, stating that the second part of *Kyōkakei* (in two volumes) will be published next spring without [further] delay. Since the second part of *Kyōkakei* was issued in 1806, it appears the Waseda copy of the first part was printed in 1805 (the original year of publication was 1803).

[350] The jar or jug (*tsubo* 壺) as personal logo is no doubt connected to Asakusaan's pen name Tsubotsubo Chinjin. The basis for this pen name is, however, unclear. The name Asakusaan - 'an' 庵 basically meaning hermitage - is clearly derived from the place where he lived. The pseudonym Ichindo seems to mean 'merchant', the implications of which will be dealt with later on in this section.

> Ichibito (also pronounced Asakusa no Ichibito or Sensōan Ichindo, 1755-1820) and Chigusaan Shimodoke (1761-1811). Eventually these two secede, amicably, from the circle to jointly establish their own group, the Asakusa-ren, named after the Asakusa neighbourhood in Edo, and later variously the Asakusa-gawa (Asakusa Group) or Tsubo-gawa (Jug Group). Even when the Asakusa Circle became one of the most popular poetry clubs in Edo, its leaders maintained personal and artistic ties with Shunman. His poems are included in anthologies sponsored by members of the Asakusa Circle, and his designs often accompany poems on *surimono* commissioned by Asakusa Circle members.[351]

Carpenter notes that Sensōan and Chigusaan 千種庵 (perhaps - or even likely - pronounced Senshuan, in the Sino-Japanese pronunciation, as for Sensōan) visited Motoori Norinaga in his hometown in Ise province, and did in fact "register as official disciples".[352] The claim that Sensōan grew to be a respected scholar of classical literature and National Learning, however, cannot be backed by facts. Sensōan's list of publications features almost exclusively *kyōkabon*, and no works on classical literature. It may well be that he circulated manuscripts of a scholarly nature, but it seems they never made it into printed books.

Among the *surimono* commissions of the Asakusagawa are three series that stand out for their relations to *kokugaku* and Norinaga's school in National Learning: *Tsurezuregusa*, *Ise monogatari* and *Isegoyomi*, each designed by Shunman. *Tsurezuregusa* and *Ise monogatari* are classics in Japanese that received much scholarly attention, as will be further elaborated on further below. *Isegoyomi* refers to Ise calendars, almanacs distributed by the priest of the Ise shrine (Ise jingū 伊勢神宮) from the early Edo period.[353] Ise Shrine is dedicated to Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照大御神, the principal goddess in the origin myths of Japan and the imperial line in *Kojiki* 古事記 ('*Record of ancient matters*', 712), the part-mythical, part-historical record that was extensively studied by Norinaga. Therefore, the Asakusagawa's choice for Ise calendars as series' subject appears to be directly inspired by both the content of *kokugaku* debate, and reference to Norinaga's home province.

It deserves mention, however, that the Asakusagawa commissioned several *surimono* series on Chinese subjects. For instance, in the early 1800s, Asakusagawa poets commissioned a series on the subject of the '*Eight immortals of the wine cup*', *Inchū hassen* 飲中八仙 (Ch. *Yinzhong baxian*) from Teisai

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[351] Article by Carpenter (2004), p. 84. A few remarks to this paragraph: Asakusaan actually died in 1821, see note 8; The exact pronunciation of his name remains inconclusive, since no kana rendering has surfaced in contemporary sources thus far; There is no evidence to suggest that the Asakusagawa ever was the most popular *kyōka* group. They have not issued large numbers of *kyōka* books, nor any substantial *surimono* series after the *Isegoyomi* series of 1814.

[352] Carpenter (2004), p 89-90, based on an article about the records of visitors to Norinaga: Iwakiri, Shin'ichirō 岩切 信一郎 (1987) "Motoori Norinaga no raikōsha kiroku ni miru: Tsutajū, Asakusaan, Shimotoke, Shunman, Yūshi no dōko 本居宣長の来訪者記録にみる--蔦重、浅草庵、霜解、俊満、融思の動向", in *Ukiyo-e Geijutsu* 浮世絵芸術 Vol. 89. (Yūshi is Ishizaki Yūshi 石崎融思 (c.1786-1846), painter from Nagasaki.)

[353] See Carpenter (2008), p. 79.

Hokuba.[354] The poems in these prints are written in a mock Chinese style as if they were *kyōshi*, using Chinese characters only, though they are to be read as *kyōka*. To that end, some of the characters actually need to be read as *man'yōgana* (*kana* as used in *Man'yōshū*). In 1810, the Asakusagawa commissioned a series about Chinese sages from Shunman, one year before their major *kokugaku*-related productions. This series carries the title *Ressen gessen zu* 列仙月仙図, '*Images of the sages in the consecutive months*', and likely numbers twelve designs in total (ten known).[355] The illustrations depict the male and female sages sporting a variety of garments and hairdos in classical Chinese style. Many are depicted with animals, some actually riding on these (Chinese, mythical) animals. Japanese adaptations of *Ressenden* sages existed, yet the series by Shunman focuses on the Chinese version. Furthermore, in 1818, a set of five Chinese 'tiger generals' from *Sangokushi* 三國志 (Ch. *Sanguozhi*, '*History of the Three Kingdoms*', fourteenth century) was commissioned, further confirming that the Asakusagawa did not focus exclusively on Japanese subjects.

Gakutei Sadaoka (c.1786-c.1855)

Gakutei designed many *surimono* and series of *surimono* in particular during the 1820s. He received commissions for *surimono* from all the major poetry circles and designed the illustrations for a large number of books - not only in the *kyōka* genre. What is less known about Gakutei is that he also translated the novel *Xi You Ji* 西遊記 ('*Journey to the West*', *Saiyūki* in Japanese pronunciation) from Chinese into Japanese, specifically volumes 21 through 40 (out of a total of 40). The translated novel was published between 1806 and 1837, with Gakutei's translations dating from 1835 and 1837.[356] He had earlier designed a *surimono* depicting the monkey Son Gokū 孫悟空 (Ch. Sun Wukong), one of the main characters in *Saiyūki*, for the year of the Monkey 1824. This *surimono* features poems by Bunbunsha and one Ōbokuen Yoshiharu 櫻木園吉治 (n.d.), who apparently commissioned the print.[357] It is not known whether Gakutei was directly connected to *kangaku* scholars, yet it is clear that he had ample knowledge of Chinese cultural history and was well versed in Chinese literature. Gakutei's proficiency in Chinese may be linked to his samurai birth status (his father was of samurai stock, although his mother was "only the mistress"[358]), as I have suggested also for the case of Bunbunsha. Gakutei's oeuvre of illustrations on *surimono* and in *kyōka* books takes inspiration from a great variety of classical subjects, both Chinese and Japanese. Among the *surimono* he designed are many that depict figures from Chinese cultural history,[359]

[354] This subject and the appropriation and transfiguration of Chinese subjects in general in *kyōka surimono* is discussed by Thomsen (2008), p. 92-99.
[355] Nagata, S. and Katō (Eds., 1998), nos. 69-73, 75-77, 79-80.
[356] The late 16th century novel *Xi You Ji* is regarded as one of the four major novels of the Ming dynasty. Wu Cheng'en 吳承恩 (c. 1506-c. 1582) is considered to be the author. See Ma and Lau (1978). The first twenty volumes of the Japanese version were translated by Nishida Korenori 西田維則 (?-1765) and illustrated by Ōhara Tōya 大原東野. Volumes 21 through 40 were illustrated by Hokusai and one of his pupils, Taito II. See for instance Waseda collection inv. no. へ21 02500.
[357] A copy is present in the Harvard University Museum collection, inv. no. HUAM207906.
[358] Makino (2008), p. 59. Makino gives much valuable information on Gakutei's life and work.
[359] Makino (2008), p. 61, hints to Gakutei's fondness for drawing Chinese figures.

and Gakutei himself was in large part responsible for contributing to the visual erudition in these prints.

Totoya Hokkei (1780-1850)

Hokkei was the most prolific designer of *surimono*, working - like Gakutei - for all the major *kyōka* circles. His oeuvre, both in *surimono* and in *kyōka* book illustrations, is extensive. Hokkei illustrated nearly a hundred books. The majority of these in the genre of *kyōka*, among the remainder mostly books of comic fiction. Hokkei was asked for the illustration of *surimono* series on a large variety of themes, Japanese, Chinese, and even Dutch. His connection to the Gogawa of Rokujuen - he and Hokkei were both of comparably humble backgrounds - was particularly strong. And while the connection to Rokujuen could certainly have been a gateway to *kokugaku* scholarship, the *surimono* commissions by the Gogawa concern mostly series on subjects such as 'famous products from the provinces', 'famous products from Edo', as well as kabuki theatre. Hokkei also took commissions from circles that fell under the Yomogawa: he designed several series for the Manjiren. Among these are his only *surimono* series on Japanese classic - *Tsurezuregusa*, which had been treated by Shunman and Gakutei earlier - and a rare series on a *kokugaku* philological treatise: *Kogentei* - see below.

There are *surimono* series by Hokkei that suggest connections to both *kangaku* and *kokugaku* scholarship. For the Hanazonoren, he designed a series inspired on the Chinese early eighth century collection of biographies of people from history and legend *Mōgyū* 蒙求 (Ch. *Mengqiu*), ('*Youth inquires*').[360] This is one of only a handful of *surimono* series that directly copy the title of a Chinese classic in the series' title.[361] *Mōgyū* was studied and reworked into contemporary Japanese versions in the Edo period and the choice for this text may be related to scholarly interest of the time. Garyōen Umemaro, leader of the Hanazonoren, edited many *kyōka* books and is not known for scholarly publications. Since *Mōgyū* was not an obscure text, the knowledge and inspiration from this text may have come from any or every member of the Hanazonoren, yet the intricacies of the designs suggest that Hokkei was also familiar with the content of the work. The position of the *Mōgyū surimono* series within its reception history will be further investigated in section 5.2.2.

A relation to *kokugaku* scholarship in *surimono* designed by Hokkei is more clearly evident than a relation to *kangaku* scholarship; for the year 1831, he designed a series of eighteen *surimono* inspired by the philological treatise *Kogentei* 古言梯, '*A ladder to the ancient language*', written by Katori Nabiko and published in 1765.[362] Shunman had been one of Nabiko's pupils and the fact that Hokkei took inspiration

[360] Smits (2000), p. 240. *Mōgyū* is said to have been written by Li Kan 李瀚 (n.d.). English title taken from Smits (who repeats this translation as used by Burton Watson).
[361] Other examples are multiple series inspired by *Suikoden* (issued around 1830) and one by *Sangokushi engi* 三国志演義 (Ch. 三國演義 *Sanguo yanyi*), a fourteenth century romanticized adaptation of *Sangokushi* 三國志 (Ch. *Sanguozhi*), 'History of the Three Kingdoms', written by Chen Shou 陳 寿 (233?-297) in the third century. The latter series, also designed by Hokkei, consists of three prints and was commissioned by the Shippōren during the 1820s. This set depicts *bijin* as representations of the three warriors who swore the '*Oath at the peach orchard*' - see further discussion in section 5.2.2.
[362] As explained in the essay by Carpenter (2008), pp. 74-75. Translation of title also taken from Carpenter.

from several literary *surimono* designs by Shunman suggests that Hokkei at least took an interest to the former's scholarly connections.[363] The Manjiren that commissioned the series was at the time headed by Shinratei Manzō II 森羅亭万象 二世 (1758-1831, KJJ 216), a candy seller by profession, and pupil of popular fiction author and *kyōka* master Shinratei Manzō I 森羅亭万象 初代 (1754-1809, also Manzōtei 萬象亭 or Morishima Chūryō 森島中良, KJJ 216). Manzō II also wrote popular fiction - quite a number of *kibyōshi* and an occasional *sharebon* - but scholarly publications of his hand are not known. To my knowledge, the Hokkei's *Kogentei jūhachibantsuzuki* 古言梯十八番続 ('*A series of eighteen from* A ladder to the ancient language') is the only example of a *surimono* (series) that directly refers to a scholarly work, rather than a literary or historiographical text.

Hokkei, it seems, was available for any commission, regardless of the theme. Being the principal *surimono* designer - in numbers at least - in the 1820s, Hokkei was certainly connected to many prominent figures. Being able to cater to the tastes of various *kyōka* circles no doubt meant familiarizing oneself with the main literary and scholarly texts that the *kyōka* clientele favored. Whether Hokkei had a specific scholarly interest remains to be answered, but his versatility in subjects and themes rather suggests a base knowledge of many classics, rather than a profound knowledge of specific classics.

Kyōka circles and scholarly networks were obviously interconnected. Some ties can be pinpointed, such as in the case of Shunman and Sensōan for instance, whereas other ties seem to exist, but claims cannot be substantiated. It is clear from the *surimono* output of the entire *kyōka* society of the 1810s and 1820s, however, that these poets wished to stay up to date with current scholarship, if only to improve the level of erudition in their poetry. Without interest and support from within the respective *kyōka* circles, the decision to commission a *surimono* series on classical literary subjects would not have been made so often. Certain direct and indirect links between *surimono* designers and poets to scholars of classical literature have been confirmed, possible links have been suggested, and it is my prediction that more connections will be uncovered as the study of *surimono* advances.

Kogentei contains theory on *kana* orthography; see Seeley (1991), p. 124 and Murphy (2009), p. 68.
[363] The connection between Nabiko and Shunman is explained by Carpenter (2004), pp. 78-79. Hokkei's *surimono* designs based on earlier designs by Shunman are presented in sections 5.2.2 and 5.3.

5.2.2 Visualizing classical literature in *surimono*

Treatment of classical literature in word and image during the Edo period

Classical literature formed an integral part of Edo period literature. Many classical texts led substantial "afterlives" in the words of Clements and Kornicki, and were available in many forms.[364] Indeed, especially the great classics such as *Genji monogatari*, *Ise monogatari*, and *Hyakunin isshu*, had been transmitted, discussed, re-issued, reworked and illustrated for generations. Interest in these classics was almost constant in Japan's cultural history, it seems, in whatever form. *Genji monogatari* arguably reached every possible audience, through anything from both manuscript and printed editions, scholarly commentaries, popular adaptations, poetry-selections, illustrated scrolls, *ukiyoe*, shell-matching games (*kai awase* 貝合わせ, in which *Genji* scenes painted on the inside of large clam shells had to be paired), motifs on lacquer ware, etc. etc.[365] The possibilities for becoming so widely read and interpreted are, according to Joshua Mostow in his treatment of the "modern constructions" of *Ise monogatari*, due to the "explosion in printing" during the Edo period.[366] Demand and supply go hand in hand, of course, and technological advancements are not only the precondition for wider dissemination, but also the result of the public's interests. Linda Chance sums up the (textual) 'afterlife' of *Tsurezuregusa*, consisting of "parodies, imitations, and variations", and concludes that "Both commentarial and parodical practice were, therefore, reflective of the esteem in which the text was held."[367] The vast array of materials linked to various classical texts clearly demonstrates the continuing demand during the Edo period, and it is only to be expected that *kyōka* poets took inspiration from these works for their own poetry.

Pictorial traditions form an integral part of the reception history of literary classics. *Genji monogatari* and *Ise monogatari* once again serve as foremost examples. For both classics, a long standing pictorial tradition was established in Heian period illustrated hand scrolls, with paintings that complimented the calligraphy of the text. The illustration of specific scenes from the chapters of each work developed into standardized iconographies that were handed down from generation to generation.[368] Much of such iconographies remained intact as the classical works crossed over to printed publications, and larger audiences. Yet, as the text was reproduced, replaced, and adapted, so were the illustrations. Apart from varying painting styles, the composition of familiar scenes could change, and the standardized

[364] Clements and Kornicki (2009), p. 363. The term reception history, it is argued, does not suffice for the intricate ways in which classics such as *Genji monogatari* impacted generations to come.
[365] The volume edited by Shirane (2008) offers a variety of essays on the canonization and popularization of *Genji monogatari* in word and image.
[366] In Shirane and Suzuki (Eds., 2000), p. 99. Both *Genji monogatari* and *Ise monogatari* appeared in a multitude of printed editions during the Edo period - too numerous to count in al practicality.
[367] In Shirane and Suzuki (Eds., 2000), pp. 127-129. The number of Edo period publications based on or related to *Tsurezuregusa* reveals that this text, too, received near constant attention.
[368] For *Genji monogatari*, this iconography has been investigated and documented for instance by Meech-Pekarik (1982), and Murase (1983). For the case of *Ise monogatari*, the evolution of illustrations was discussed by Nagata, H. (1989), and Mostow (2014) Courtly Visions.

iconographies could be abandoned altogether in favor of illustrations deemed more suitable for the artefact or publication of that moment. For instance, *Nise murasaki inaka genji* 偽紫田舎源氏 (*A Fraudulent Murasaki's Bumpkin Genji*), a hugely popular *gōkan* written by Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783-1842), illustrated by Utagawa Kunisada, and published by Tsuruya Kiemon between 1829 and 1842.[369] Like the text, the illustrations in this work can be considered as reinventions, complimentary to the (reinvented) text, and suited to the era in which it was published.

The position of *surimono* design within the reception of classical literature and associated pictorial traditions

Literary *surimono* series in general display an unconventional approach to the reception and interpretation of classical literature in the Edo period. Specifically certain *surimono* that deviate from usual iconography for particular texts should be considered as unique for their position within respective reception histories. The interplay of text and image is induced in ways unseen in other reworkings of classical texts, with a considerable degree of freedom and boldness. This trait has at times been noted by other researchers for all *kyōka surimono*, yet a description of how specifically *surimono* series on classical texts relate to those original texts is somehow lacking. Generally speaking, *surimono* series that take a classical text as subject feature a series' title that contains the original title of the classical text. In many cases, individual print titles are given, making explicit to which phrase or section of a text is referred in the print.[370] Apparently, the clues in the poems and illustrations alone were not always deemed to be sufficient for all intended viewers/readers to immediately deduce which text was taken as inspiration. Literary *surimono* feature illustrations ranging from (historic) human figures, to landscapes, to still lifes depicting all kinds of objects, animals, etcetera. In general, *surimono* in literary series are marked by a serious, nostalgia, favoring classic elegance over worldly themes.

In some specific cases, neither a pictorial tradition connected to the text in question existed, nor were any exegetical texts made available to a larger audience through print. In other words, *surimono* creators - both poets and artists - could not rely on earlier work for their visualization of classical literature. A case in point is the *surimono* series inspired on the classical text *Tosa nikki*. No pictorial tradition was in place for that text, which is why I selected that series for investigation of its textual and visual content in relation to the original text. For the *Tosa nikki* series as well as three series with the title *Tsurezuregusa*, a selection of representative prints serves to uncover the interests and objectives of their creators. These case studies provide handles that help locate *surimono* of the Bunka and Bunsei eras within the reception of classical literature during the late Edo period.

Designers who received commissions from *kyōka* circles took great liberties in their illustrations for prints that referred to classical works of literature poetry. The freedom in mixing classical and

[369] See Emmerich (2008), pp. 211-235. Translation of the novel's title is also his.
[370] Or, in the case of series that present a selection of classical texts, the titles of the classical texts are given as print titles.

contemporary - characteristic of the poetic genre of *kyōka* - is reflected in many accompanying illustrations.[371] The scope is wide; some *surimono* emulate classical painting schools, such as an anonymous series commissioned by Rokujuan Fukumaro 鹿壽庵蝠麿 (n.d.) and Shūchōdō Monoyana that presents scenes from *Genji monogatari* in a style strongly reminiscent of Tosa school paintings of the early sixteenth century. In this series, sometimes attributed to Hokkei, the compositions are dominated by golden clouds, typical of the Tosa school. The faces of the depicted nobles are rendered with 'slit eyes and hooked noses', *hikime kagihana* 引目鈎鼻, typical of the *yamatoe* 大和絵 style, of which the Tosa school is considered one current.[372]

At the other end of the scope we find for example a *surimono*, designed by Hokkei, depicting a fashionable (Edo period) young woman playing with a cat. This illustration evokes a scene from chapter 34 of *Genji monogatari* in which a 'Chinese cat', *karaneko* 唐猫, runs out of a room, its leash becoming entangled in the reed blinds, *misu* 御簾. The cat's twinging causes several ladies, and more specifically the 'Third Princess' Onna Sannomiya 女三宮 (sometimes read Nyo San no Miya), who was standing in informal dress, to be exposed to a group of young male courtiers kicking around a *kemari* ball outside.[373] Depictions of an elegant lady representing Onna Sannomiya and a cat are numerous in ukiyoe; Hokkei was preceded by Ishikawa Toyonobu 石川豊信 (1711-1785), Okumura Masanobu 奥村政信 (1686-1764), Isoda Koryūsai 磯田湖龍斎 (1735-1790), Suzuki Harunobu, and Kitagawa Utamaro, to name some. Hokkei's design employs a style of drawing relatively close to the ukiyoe of his contemporaries, as often encountered in Edo *surimono*, with an emphasis on naturalistic, elegant lines and detailed expression of the textures of - in this case - the textiles of the kimono and the table-stove, *kotatsu* 炬燵, and the fur of the cat, skillfully blind-printed. Although the overall style is similar, Hokkei plays with the iconography and composition of elements. Ukiyoe designs of the scene almost invariably portray the lady with long hair in

[371] I write 'accompanying illustrations', since - it must be emphasized once again - in principle poets composed their poems and then commissioned designers to contribute illustrations to match, not the other way around.
[372] Lee Bruschke-Johnson compares one print from this series and another *surimono* - verifiably by Hokkei - that takes *Genji monogatari* as subject to examples of Tosa painting, in Rappard-Boon and Bruschke-Johnson (2000), pp. 156-157. The attribution of the designs to Hokkei is debatable: both Rappard-Boon and Bruschke-Johnson (2000) and Forrer (2013, p. 257) list this print from the Rijksmuseum collection (Amsterdam) as anonymous. Other designs from the series are found for instance in the MFA, Boston, under accession numbers 21.9268 and 11.25447 - listed as "attributed to Hokkei" in their online catalog. The design and 'brushwork' in it would not lead me to attribute these designs to Hokkei. Interestingly, the three designs mentioned here feature the same duo of poets: Rokujuan Fukumaro and Shūchōdō Monoyana. Forrer (2013), p. 257, points to the fact that these two poets often appear together on *surimono*. McKee (2008 [3]) points to the fact that different designs give different ages for Shūchōdō. Indeed, one of the prints in the MFA gives his age as 73; the print kept in the Rijksmuseum gives Monoyana's age as 75; yet another in a private collection in Switzerland (again, with Rokujuan Fukumaro) gives his age as 76 (calculating from the year 1761 often given as Monoyana's birth year, these designs would thus have come out in 1833, 1835 and 1836). This leads me to assume that Fukumaro and Monoyana commissioned this series in yearly installments, rather than as an entire series at once, as was common practice for *kyōka* circles.
[373] This *surimono* designed by Hokkei is presented and explained in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), pp. 204-205. See also Murasaki Shikibu, transl. by Seidensticker (1981), pp. 582-584, for a translation of the scene. The ladies will likely not have wished for others to see them wearing informal dress, and furthermore, according to Seidensticker, p. 583, "Well-behaved ladies did not permit themselves to be seen standing".

a classical style, standing (solitarily) in an elegant, curved pose, looking down on the leashed cat. Hokkei portrays the lady - sporting current hairstyle - half seated on her knees, dangling a ball on a string before the cat. The cat is not leashed, although the string appears to represent a leash, which is also blind-printed. Furthermore, the *kemari* ball that is absent in ukiyoe designs, is evoked by the toy ball.

The two examples of *surimono* inspired by *Genji monogatari* thus give an impression of two different positions in the reception of *Genji* iconography; one design remains closer to tradition and the other shows how the popular arts could appropriate a literary classic and freely adapt iconography. The difference in artistic style may be attributed to the difference in 'distance' to traditional iconography; the former example replicates, the latter parodies. This tendency is actually recognizable in many other *surimono* that either aim for a stylistically correct design associated with pictorial traditions related to certain works of classical literature, or those that utilize clever allusions and (visual) puns, in which case the artistic style is generally less traditional. *Surimono* designers thus take different approaches to visualizing the classics and each *surimono* or *surimono* series should be assessed individually to investigate how this process took place.

A brief summary for *surimono* series inspired by classical literature and their place in reception history

In this section, *surimono* series and sets that take classical Japanese or Chinese texts as subject will be classified according to their place in pictorial and exegetical traditions. Of the circa 142 *kyōka surimono* series issued by poetry groups I count between 1797 and 1835, fourteen series emphatically take (a) Japanese classical literary text(s) as title.[374] Another eight revolve around Chinese works of literature. Presented below is a chronological listing of these series, with a brief discussion of the characteristics of each. These brief discussions are focused on aspects such as mode of illustration and place in pictorial tradition, availability of exegetical works, and atmosphere in poetry and image.

c. 1809: *Monogatari awase* 物語合, for the Gogawa, designed by several artists

Five prints in this series are known; two designed by Shigemasa, one by Shūri, and two by Hokuga (Gosei) on a commission of the Gogawa. More prints in the series may exist, or have existed. This is not a series revolving around one classical text, but a 'compilation of tales' as the title suggests. The individual prints therefore allude to the print subject fairly directly; there is simply not enough space in terms of poetry and illustration, to handle detailed aspects of the chosen texts. The Gogawa was headed by Rokujuen, himself a *kokugaku* scholar, who must have had ample knowledge of, and access to texts. One

[374] Appendix III gives an overview of *kyōka surimono* series issued by various poetry groups from Edo. The color coding highlights the themes and gives an impression of the distribution of themes. This overview is, and cannot be complete. Goslings (2002) counts over 340 series; the substantial difference between these numbers can be explained by the fact that Goslings also lists series of which a commissioning poetry group is not known, anonymous series, untitled series, and series of which just one print is known (and actual existence of the series is difficult to verify).

of the prints designed by Hokuga refers to *Tosa nikki* and will be discussed in more detail in the *Tosa nikki* case study below. The choice for *Tosa nikki* in particular is unexpected, although the allusion in poetry and image is somewhat straightforward. The other design by Gosei is allegedly of *Utsubo monogatari* 宇津保物語 (*'Tale of the hollow tree'*), a late tenth century tale traditionally often attributed to lexicographer and poet Minamoto Shitagō 源順 (911-983).[375] The design by Shūri is inspired by *Kara monogatari* 唐物語 (*'Chinese tales'*), a twelfth or early thirteenth century selection of stories from China, the translation into Japanese and compilation of which are thought to have been carried out by the statesman Fujiwara Narinori 藤原成範 (also read Shigenori, 1135-1187). The designs by Shigemasa take *Taketori monogatari* 竹取物語 (*'Tale of the bamboo cutter'*, tenth century) and *Ise monogatari* as subject. All four of these *monogatari* were readily available in print in the Edo period, and various annotated versions of both texts circulated during the mid to late Edo period. Keyes points out that [(*kyōka*) poet and *kokugaku*] scholar Kamo Suetaka 賀茂季鷹 (1754-1841, from Kyoto) published an annotated text of *Kara monogatari* in 1809.[376] It contains a colophon that indeed gives the third month of 1809 as publication date.[377] This is later than the *surimono* would have been distributed, which would have been the first month of that year. However, the postface to the book, as well as Kamo Suetaka's own preface are dated 1808 (third and sixth month respectively), which confirms that the book had been in the making before 1809. It is known that Gogawa leader Rokujuen exchanged views on *Man'yōshū* with fellow *kokugaku* scholar Katō Chikage 加藤千蔭 (1735-1808), who wrote the other preface to Kamo Suetaka's book on *Kara monogatari*, during 1796-7.[378] Through such connections, Gogawa members may have been up to date with this ongoing scholarship on *Kara monogatari*. Besides the work by Kamo, poet and *kokugaku* scholar Shimizu Hamaomi 清水浜臣 (1776-1824) wrote an evidential commentary of *Kara monogatari*, which was also published in 1809.

1811: *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草, for the Asakusagawa, by Shunman

Tsurezuregusa is a collection of essays on a great variety of subjects, written between 1330 and 1332 by the Buddhist priest Yoshida Kenkō.[379] The title is commonly translated into English as *Essays in Idleness*. *Tsurezuregusa* had been studied continuously over the centuries and had appeared in various forms before the first (of three) *surimono* series took up this text as inspiration. This fact is simply illustrated by reading through the preface and preliminary notes in *Tsurezuregusa shoshō taisei* 徒然草諸抄大成 (*'Compendium of the various Tsurezuregusa commentaries'*) of 1910, in which no less than twelve textual sources are listed, all of which are used as reference material throughout the compendium.[380]

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[375] Cranston (1969), p. 289.
[376] Keyes (1984), explanation for color plate 56.
[377] A copy of this book can be found in the collection of Waseda University library, inv. no. 文庫30 C0096.
[378] Kasuya (1986), p. 110, 114-115, 124.
[379] Keene (1967), p. xiii - xvi.
[380] Muromatsu Iwao (Ed., 1910). Further explanation of *Tsurezuregusa* commentaries to follow in the case study in section 5.3.2.

In *surimono* circles *Tsurezuregusa* also enjoyed an apparent popularity, since three series on this subject are known, commissioned by different circles, from three different designers. Shunman was the first to design a series of prints for the Asakusagawa 浅草側 *kyōka* group in 1811. He was followed by Gakutei, who designed a series for the circles around Yomogawa Utagaki Magao 四方歌垣真顔 and Shinratei Manzō II, in c. 1817. A third series was designed by Hokkei for the Manjiren 卍連 in the early 1830s. This allows for a comparison of treatment of text and image with a focus on the emergence of a new iconography, which will be carried out in the case study in section 5.3.2. In contrast to books on *Tosa nikki*, some of the books on *Tsurezuregusa* were also illustrated - most notably *Ehon Tsurezuregusa* 絵本徒然草, illustrated by Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信 (1671-1751), which was first published in 1740. Another example is *Tsurezuregusa with annotation in head notes - with illustrations*, *Shusho chūshaku tsurezuregusa eiri* 首書註釈 徒然草 絵入, authored by one Sanboku Injin 三木隠人 (n.d.). It was first published in Kyoto in 1690 in five fascicles and includes explanatory notes to aid in understanding the text, and illustrations alongside some of the essays. These books provide some opportunities for comparison of existing visual representations to iconography in the *surimono* series.

The thirteen known designs by Shunman, however, have little or no relation to those by Nishikawa Sukenobu. As in many of his literary *surimono*, Shunman designed still lifes that depict one or more items that feature in the selected chapter or scene. Occasionally, human figures or animals are depicted. In the majority of designs for the *Tsurezuregusa* series, the background is not or not substantially illustrated. The illustrations are very much in service of the poems, which generally take up a considerable portion of the print's surface area. Breaking away from traditional illustrations, the designs thus take a path independent from pictorial tradition. The *Tsurezuregusa* series by Shunman falls into the category of *surimono* series I described earlier, that display a boldness with regard to interpretation of text into illustration. The images are characterized by a calm elegance that seems designed with the purpose of complementing and enhancing the contents of the poetry rather than aimed at shifting the reader/viewer's attention to the illustration only.

1812: *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, for the Asakusagawa, by Shunman

This series, issued in 1812, numbers at least nineteen designs, mostly in *shikishiban* format.[381] The designs are still lifes, except the design for section 98, which depicts a pheasant on a branch of plum blossoms - one could categorize it as a bird-and-flower painting. Similar to the *Tsurezuregusa* series, the illustrations feature no backgrounds; the various objects would appear suspended in mid-air, if not for an occasional soft gradient background color that is darker towards the lower portion of the print. The prints each take a small quote from a section of *Ise monogatari*, sometimes followed by either headnotes, *kotobagaki*

[381] Chapter sixteen is in the 'horizontal one-and-a-half *shikishi* format' that also appears in the Tsurezuregusa series. Forrer (2013), p. 119, gives the dating 1812 based on a reference to a theatre performance in the design for chapter 87.

詞書, or more personal introductory notes by one of the poets. The series accommodates a substantial total number of poets, since many prints feature more than two poems. Poets from outside Edo contributed poems to the series and one poet is explicitly indicated to be member of the Hanagasaren. Sensōan himself features on multiple prints. Judges of the Asakusagawa are indicated by a circle mark, but as the leader, Sensōan's name appears without this mark or even the second element of his pen name.[382]

The *Ise monogatari* series represents a major project undertaken by the *kyōka* circle - or in this case, perhaps better to say *kyōka* network - clustered around Sensōan. The classic taken as inspiration for the series was no doubt familiar to all poets as it was the object of many a study and readily available in printed form. It would likely be difficult, therefore, to isolate a single textual source on which the creators of the series relied. The chapters taken as subject vary from well-known scenes to more obscure passages. In his illustrations, Shunman alludes to established iconography through the decorations on fans, garments and the like. It is clear that he broke new ground with the still lifes that depict not only objects associated with bygone eras, but also objects from contemporaneous urban life - echoing the type of combinations that pervaded *kyōka* poetry.

1813: *Torikaebaya monogatari* とりかへばや物語, for the Hakurakuya, by Shunman

The *Torikaebaya* series was commissioned by Hakurakusha Ōharu 白楽舎大春 and his circle for the year 1813. It was carefully discussed by Carpenter, who states that "The twenty-one, mostly still lifes and courtly scenes, of Shunman's *Torikaebaya* are exceedingly refined, even by *surimono* standards.[383] Similar to other literary series designed by Shunman, short phrases of the original text precede the poems. The text that inspired this series, as explained by Carpenter, was not available in print at the time. Instead, Shunman's knowledge of the text should be traced back to the "circle of literati" to which he belonged.[384] We may assume that Hakurakusha could be said to belong to the same circle. The record of Rokujuen borrowing the text from Katō Chikage and copying it in 1800 serves as further proof of the fact that the text circulated in *kokugaku* circles with connections to *kyōka*.[385] The *Torikaebaya monogatari* series takes a special place within literary *surimono* for it is among the foremost examples of how a classical work unavailable to general readers, and without pictorial tradition, inspired poetry and illustration.

Mid 1810s: *Tosa nikki* 土佐日記, for Shōfūdai, Hisakataya and Bunbunsha, by Shunman

The series on *Tosa nikki* is the only large-scale *surimono* project to take that text as inspiration. The text of this 10th century semi-fictional travel diary had received little attention in exegetical works before the *surimono* series was issued. Judging from the absence of illustrations in *Tosa nikki* books - both text

[382] Except for the one print of chapter sixteen that features as much as eight poets. Among them is also another judge who is indicated by a circle mark, which may have necessitated the same indication for Sensōan.
[383] Carpenter (2004), p. 100.
[384] Carpenter (2004), p. 100.
[385] Kasuya (1986), p. 121.

editions and exegetical works, either in manuscript or printed editions - there appears to be no kind of pictorial tradition associated with *Tosa nikki*. Illustrations based on *Tosa nikki* do not surface in Japanese arts and crafts like they do in relation to renowned classics. The *surimono* series therefore serves as 'uncontaminated' research material for investigating the extent to which knowledge of the text was incorporated into the poems and designs, and how the designer, Kubo Shunman, decided to visualize the selected scenes.

All but one of these designs feature introductory phrases taken directly from *Tosa nikki*. The prints are in the *shikishiban* format. The basic concept is the same for each print. Reading the *surimono* from right to left as was practice, we first encounter a series logo - hand-stamped in red ink[386] - that combines the names of Hisakataya, Shōfūdai and Bunbunsha, the series title '*Tosa nikki*', and the producer's seal 'Shō *sei*'. To the left of that is (in most cases) the date of the entry in the diary, a short quotation from that day in *Tosa nikki*,[387] then one or two *kyōka* poems, and an illustration below. Fourteen designs can thus be linked to entries for specific dates in *Tosa nikki*.

Shunman took an eclectic approach to designing the *Tosa nikki surimono* series. Among the fourteen different designs known to survive from the series are landscapes, human figures, as well as still lifes. Shunman's style varied per design, and he applied techniques such as blind-printing and color-printing without outlines from an index block - a technique more frequently encountered in Shijō-style *surimono*.[388] Some of the choices for one style or technique are related to the subject of the scene from *Tosa nikki* that the *surimono* refers to, as well as the subject of the *kyōka* poem(s). In many cases, the design and poetry together seem to aim to recreate an atmosphere as perceived in certain segments of the original text, rather than attempting to create a coherent set of images applicable to the *Tosa nikki* narrative in its entirety.

1817: *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草, for the Yomogawa, by Gakutei

Six years after the *Tsurezuregusa* series designed by Shunman, the Yomogawa commissioned a series on the same text from Gakutei. This series forms part of the same case study in section 5.3.2, which is why details of individual prints will again be left out in this brief description. The prints in this series are exceedingly rare. Only four designs in the series are known, but the original number of designs must have been larger. The introductory phrases do not include the number of the essay as in the series for the

[386] The position of the stamped logo differs in different copies of the same print, for instance in the copy of '*Cormorants and sea gulls*' in Mirviss and Carpenter (2000), no. 85 and coll. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. JP2066.
[387] Except for the one design, which only mentions a local product (honey), instead of giving an introductory phrase.
[388] Shijō school, also Maruyama-Shijō school, after founder Maruyama Ōkyo 円山応挙 (1733-1795) from Kyoto. The term Shijō refers to the 'Fourth avenue' in Kyoto, where Matsumura Goshun 松村呉春 (1752-1811, pupil under Ōkyo) had his studio. See the Japanese Architecture and Art Net Users System: http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/ '*Maruyama-Shijouha*'. *Surimono* in from the Kamigata region were regularly designed in Shijō style, characterized by simple yet expressive lines and compositions. Best known among Shijō school *surimono* designers, perhaps, is Shibata Zeshin 柴田是真 (1807-1891).

Asakusagawa. In some cases, parts of the original phrase are omitted. Apparently, the Yomogawa commissioners expected a considerable degree of knowledge of *Tsurezuregusa* on the part of the receiver.

The mode of illustration in the series by Gakutei is remarkably similar to that of Shunman; still lifes without background, depicting items that allude to a life of luxury and erudition. In at least one design, Gakutei took inspiration from the earlier design by Shunman: essay number 72 is repeated in the series designed by Gakutei and Gakutei too drew a book cart for the illustration. It is difficult to judge the entire series, whatever the size may have been, on the basis of just four prints. The four designs that are known however, give the impression that Shunman's earlier designs generally inspired Gakutei, since two of Gakutei's designs display a subdued style that is unlike most of his oeuvre.

1818: *Goko shogun* 五虎将軍, for the Asakusagawa, by Gakutei

This series was inspired by *Sangokushi engi* 三国志演義 (commonly translated as '*Romance of the three kingdoms*'; Ch. 三國演義 *Sanguo yanyi*), a fourteenth century romanticized adaptation of *Sangokushi* 三國志 (Ch. *Sanguozhi, History of the three kingdoms*), written by Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中 (Jp. Ra Kanchū, fourteenth century). The original account was written by Chen Shou 陳 寿 (233?-297) in the third century as a historical account. *History of the three kingdoms* had been known and appreciated in Japan for many centuries when *Romance of the three kingdoms* appeared in Japanese translation in 1689. The translation, entitled *Tsūzoku sangokushi* 通俗三国志 ('*A popular history of the three kingdoms*'), was carried out by Konan Bunzan 湖南文山 (n.d.) and numbered 51 fascicles. This translation was the standard during the entire Edo period. Between 1836 and 1841, an illustrated edition was published, with annotations by Ikeda Tōritei 池田東籬亭 (1788-1857) and illustrations by Katsushika Taito II 葛飾戴斗二世 (n.d.).

Gakutei depicts the five generals against an empty background, in typical if somewhat even pacifist poses, with their formidable weapons at rest. Their clothing complies with standard 'historic Chinese warrior' iconography, though with very plentiful motifs on the cloths, always a strongpoint in Gakutei's designs. The generals are depicted with prominent beards as per biographical accounts - something also referred to in one of the poems.[389] The individual prints in this set are numbered on through five, with the name of the general in question printed underneath that number. This set can be considered a pentaptych, despite the fact that the absence of background illustrations means there is no continuous background to the set as a whole. This set once again emphasizes the fact that the Asakusagawa did not commission *surimono* series on Japanese subjects exclusively.

1819: *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語, for the Taikogawa, by Shinsai

Prints in this series each group three consecutive chapters of *Genji monogatari* together, listing the three chapter names as print title. The series' title is simply *Genji monogatari*, preceded by the Taikogawa

[389] See description and translation by Alfred Haft in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), pp. 144-145.

emblem, printed in a rectangular cartouche. The cartouche resembles a slip of paper with a tassel attached to it. The illustrations are still lifes, depicting branches of trees associated with the Spring season, some instruments, objects associated with court culture such as *eboshi*, etcetera. The still lifes are essentially combinations of items mentioned in the poems above the illustration. There is little in these illustrations that connects to standard iconography for the Tale of Genji. Rather, the illustrations calmly echo the respective chapters and scenes from the classic text that are alluded to in the poems.

The availability of exegetical works on Genji monogatari hardly needs further elaboration. The constant attention it received, also from *kokugaku* scholars, is explained by Harper, as mentioned before.[390] Unfortunately, it seems impossible to isolate which version or commentary the Taikogawa poets used as reference; no quotations are given that could clarify this. A preliminary survey of the poetry has not yielded further insights with regard to this question. Since the five known designs each treat three chapters at a time, it is appears that the entire series would have amounted to eighteen designs - assuming that all 54 chapters of the story were covered. If other prints from this series should surface, these may shed further light on whether a specific Genji commentary was relied on for information and inspiration for this series.

c. 1820: *Washo sankōshi* 和書三好子, for the Katsushikaren, by Gakutei

This is a set of (apparently) three prints, depicting famous characters featuring in classical literature. The title of the series can be translated as '*Three beloved figures from Japanese literature*'. Of the two designs known to me, one depicts Prince Genji on a veranda.[391] The other depicts Sagoromo no Daishō 狭衣代将 ('Captain Sagoromo'), the protagonist of *Sagoromo monogatari* 狭衣物語, an eleventh century tale staged at the imperial court. He is depicted playing the flute. Sagoromo plays so beautifully that a heavenly maiden descends from the skies and she invites him to ascend with her to heaven. This well-known scene is also referred to in the poems. Some exegetical texts on *Sagoromo monogatari* circulated during the Edo period. The most widely read work was that written by the well-known *renga* poet Satomura Jōha 里村紹巴 (1525-1602), whose commentary of 1590 appeared in print in 1654.[392] Some elements of the contents of *Sagoromo monogatari* resemble motifs in *Genji monogatari*, something that was acknowledged also by Motoori Norinaga.[393] The connection between both works may have been a reason for including both in the series. *Sagoromo monogatari* was obviously not as widely read during the Edo period as *Genji monogatari*, but the scene with the heavenly maiden was illustrated in Kamakura period handscrolls, and the iconography for this major moment in the tale seems to have been established over the centuries. Although the scene is not known from popular prints, examples of illustration may have also been available to Gakutei in some form. Even without knowing the third print, it seems this series holds little in

[390] Harper (2000).
[391] Listed in Goslings (2002), 'bijlage', p. 129.
[392] Under the title *Sagoromo shitahimo* 狭衣下紐 ('*The twine that holds* Sagoromo *together*'). This is a pun on the meaning of the word *koromo*, garment, as garments of the age are often kept from sagging with a length of string known as *shitahimo* (or sometimes *shitabimo*) around the waist (usually hidden under the *obi* 帯, sash).
[393] As noted by Tyler (2009), pp. 205-207.

the way of 'new iconographies' or relation to contemporaneous scholarship on this text. Careful transliteration and translation of the poems, compared to exegetical texts of the time, may prove otherwise.

c. 1820 *Makura no sōshi* 枕草子, for the Asakusagawa, by Hokuba

Makura no sōshi, commonly translated as *The Pillow Book*, is a mid-Heian period miscellany. It was written by lady-in-waiting Sei Shōnagon 清少納言 (n.d., late tenth, early eleventh century) and is generally considered to have been finished just after 1000 - just several years before *Genji monogatari*. It consists of 323 sections, although the division into sections has been subject to transformation over the course of history.[394] There is a variation in the contents of the sections; the passages are generally divided into three types: "essays, lists, and diary passages."[395]

For the *surimono* in this series, phrases taken from the 'list' type, in which Sei Shōnagon defined things that she observed, appreciated, liked, longed for, were selected from different sections. In the original text, these sections start with the expression of an observation or sentiment, formulated as 'things that are […]'. Then follow short lists of examples. In the *surimono* series, the introductory phrase on each print cites the observation or appreciation in question, followed by just one (or two - although that occurs just once) of the examples given by Sei Shōnagon. The poems (with some exceptions) take that single example as subject, finding ways of connecting that subject to New Year's customs.

The illustrations by Hokuba similarly connect the subject from *Makura no sōshi* to New Year. He depicts human figures from different eras in Japanese history, in situations that tie into the general theme of the arriving spring. The depicted women range from a high-ranking Edo period courtesan to Heian period noblewomen. Men and boys, when depicted, are of comparatively lower rank, some of them (young) attendants. The respective sections are illustrated in a rather straightforward manner, though with apparent clear understanding of the contents of each section. The figures are engaged in activities that are described in the introductory phrase, or the thing or situation that is described in the selected phrase is illustrated for the viewer to behold.

The illustrations by Hokuba have little relation to any pictorial tradition for *Makura no sōshi*. Some of the female figures are illustrated in a way that slightly resembles the type of illustrations found in for instance *emakimono* of Heian period classics, as painted during the Kamakura period. Overall however, the style is clearly Hokuba's own. To quote John Carpenter:

[Similarly] Hokuba's illustrations for *Makura no sōshi* (*The Pillow Book of Sei Shōnagon*) were inspired by well-known phrases from the famous early eleventh-century miscellany, and creates imagery that purports to represent an original Heian setting, but is rather an Edo-period idealization of a vague, timeless courtly past, not any attempt at precisely conveying the actual appearance of customs ad

[394] Fukumori (1997), p. 2.
[395] Fukumori (1997), p. 2.

costumes of ancient times […].[396]

Therefore, despite that fact that human figures were depicted at all - instead of still-lifes that are usually a break with pictorial tradition in any case - this series, too, serves as another example of how *surimono* designers chose not to rely on existing illustrations, but rather devised their own pictorialization of the classical themes.

Makura no sōshi was certainly available during the mid to late Edo period, both in manuscript and printed form. Kitamura Kigin published an annotated edition in 1674, in 22 volumes. A reprint edition of 1794 exists, proving its continuous use. Kokugaku scholars also studied *Makura no sōshi*. Since the phrases found on the prints in this *surimono* series seem to correspond with generally accepted text editions, it may prove difficult to link the contents of this series to a particular commentary.

c. 1820 *Mutsumigawa bantsuzuki Makura no sōshi* 睦側番つゝき枕草子, for the Mutsumigawa (Gogawa), by Hokkei

The *Makura no sōshi* series for the Mutsumigawa resembles the series for the Asakusagawa in general setup, with introductory phrases from the 'list type' on each print, followed by one example. The largest difference is the fact that in this series, the examples given - things related to New Year, generally - are not in the original text.[397] In that sense, the makers of this series took more liberties with the classical text than the Asakusagawa members, inserting ideas of their own and presenting them almost as if they were part of this Heian period classical text. The poets found in the series by Hokkei were members of the Gogawa, with their judge Sairaikyo Mibutsu indicated as such with a small circle mark. It seems this Mutsumigawa was an occasional subsection of the Gogawa, not a fixed poetry group. The verb *mutsumu* 睦む means 'to get along well', and it may well be that the name Mutsumigawa - with just this one *surimono* series and no known poetry book publications - was adopted for this project only. The date of publication of this *surimono* series is not exactly known, but circumstances point to c. 1820. Carpenter gives 1819, year of the rabbit, based on the fact that one design features a large rabbit, depicted on a robe.[398] Although plausible, this is not conclusive. It can be theorized that this series that takes more liberties with regard to the original text dates from after the series designed by Hokuba - the Asakusagawa occupying their usual pioneering position when it comes to series on classical literary texts.

The illustrations by Hokkei are still-lifes, inspired by the devised introductory phrases as well the poems. The prints feature a variety of textures, depicting colorful cloths, lacquerware, cuir de cordoue leather, porcelain, metal, straw, and paper, expressed through the printing techniques for which *surimono* are known. The designs are much more connected to Edo period luxuries than to (quasi) Heian period

[396] Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 74.
[397] Mentioned also in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 256 and p. 264. Carpenter calls the example presented in this one *surimono* from this series a "contemporary interpolation" (p. 256).
[398] Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 256.

elegance. Thus the series as a whole may take *Makura no sōshi* as a vehicle, yet in comparison to the series for the Asakusagawa, it places itself at a greater distance from the classical text.

1821 *Honchōren monogatari jūban* 本町連物語十番, for the Honchōren, by Gakutei

This series is a selection of ten tales, as suggested in the title, which translates as *Ten tales for the Honchōren*. Many are well-known, such as *Ise monogatari*, *Taketori monogatari*, *Genji monogatari* (represented by chapter seven). Less-known are for instance *Tosa nikki* (this print is part of the *Tosa nikki* case study in section 5.3.1), *Hamamatsu Chūnagon monogatari* 浜松中納言物語 ('*The tale of the Chūnagon* [Middle Counselor] *Hamamatsu*', authorship attributed to a daughter of Sugawara no Takasue 菅原孝標, eleventh century), *Ochikubo monogatari* 落窪物語 ('*The tale of Ochikubo*', author unknown, late tenth century), and *Yamato monogatari* 大和物語 ('*Tales of Yamato*', author unknown, tenth century). *Yamato monogatari* stands out for being an *uta monogatari* 歌物語, a poem-tale, in which the poems form the main vehicle for the storytelling.[399] Kitamura Kigin published an annotated version in 1653, and the *kokugaku* scholar and Kamo no Mabuchi wrote the commentary *Yamato monogatari chokkai* 大和物語直解 ('*Direct understanding of* Yamato Monogatari'). This commentary seems to have circulated in manuscript only.[400] *Ochikubo monogatari* received attention from *kokugaku* scholars, too; Shinobu Bō 信夫某 (n.d.) produced a manuscript in 1794 based on research carried out by Mabuchi[401], and the *kokugaku* scholar Ōishi Chibiki 大石千引 (1770-1834) wrote an annotated text that was apparently published in print, also in 1794.[402] Exegetical texts for *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* are scarcer, although it is known that Kishimoto Yuzuru wrote an evidential comment.[403] The tale stands out for taking a journey to the Chinese court as subject. The designs - eight out of ten known - feature colorful depictions of human figures in key scenes of the respective *monogatari*. The figures are dressed in clothes, and hair and headwear that are drawn in the archaizing style typical for Gakutei, Hokkei, and their contemporaries.

c. 1821: *Mōgyū* 蒙求, for the Hanazonoren, by Hokkei

This series presents figures from Chinese legend and history, and their stories as recorded in the Tang dynasty classic '*Youth inquires*'. The designs feature an orange/red border around an almost square, framed illustration. The border contains a type of title slip in the top right, in which the series' title, print

399 See Tahara (1972), pp. 1-37.
400 Based on data in the NIJL Union catalogue of early Japanese books (accessed January 1, 2016). No copy could be consulted for checking the contents.
401 Based on data in the NIJL Union catalogue of early Japanese books (accessed January 2, 2016). No copy could be consulted for checking the contents.
402 Based on data in the NIJL Union catalogue of early Japanese books (accessed January 2, 2016). No copy could be consulted for checking the contents.
403 Based on data in the NIJL Union catalogue of early Japanese books (accessed January 1, 2016). No copy could be consulted for checking the contents.

title and group logo are listed. It is not always the logo of the Hanazonoren that is stamped on the title slips; some designs show the logo of the subsidiary groups Umezonoren 梅園連 ('Plum garden group') and Momozonoren 桃園連 ('Peach garden group').[404] The illustrations depict the various Chinese figures either in positions or actions that form the crux in their stories. The mode of illustrating, as discussed by Carpenter, "owes much to the conventions established by Hokusai in his *Manga* and other illustrated books of the late 1810s."[405] Indeed, Hokkei draws the types of clothing, hairdo, and headwear that had become fixed in recent pictorial representations of classical Chinese figures.

Mōgyū had become available in Japan from as early as the ninth century and, according to Smits, the text consisting of "nearly six hundred minibiographies" describing the "lives of famous and infamous men (and a few women) from Chinese legend and history" had become "an indispensable tool for any young man's encounter with "China.""[406] It was studied during the Edo period still, most notably by Neo-Confucianist scholar Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657), samurai poet Kagawa Sen'a 香川宣阿 (1646-1735), and China scholar Oka[da] Hakku 岡[田]白駒 (1692-1767). Their publications were often reprinted throughout the Edo period. It has been suggested that the twenty-volume illustrated version *Mōgyū zue* 蒙求図会 ('*Youth inquires, illustrated*') annotated by Kibi Shōken 吉備祥顕 (n.d.) and illustrated by Shimokōbe Shūsui 下河辺拾水 (n.d.), of 1801 may have had an influence on Hokkei.[407] The popularity and the availability of an illustrated version may have had some influence on the choice for the subject, yet a comparison of the illustration in that book to those in the *surimono* does not reveal any emulation of pictorial elements.

1822: *Washo kurabe* 和書くらへ, for the Fundarikaren, by Hokkei

This 'comparison of Japanese books' encompasses at least ten designs. The books taken as subject for each print include well-known works such as *Tsurezuregusa*, *Ise monogatari*, and *Taketori monogatari*, as well as lesser-known works such as *Fukurozōshi* 袋草紙, a twelfth century treatise on the composition of *waka* written by court poet Fujiwara no Kiyosuke 藤原清輔 (1104-1177). The majority of the selected books have their origin in the Heian and Kamakura periods. A notable exception is *Zenzen taiheiki* 前々太平記 ('*Before before the record of great peace*'), an extensive military history of the eighth and ninth centuries, written by Neo-Confucianist scholar Hirazumi Sen'an 平住専庵 (?-1734?) first published in 1715. Works from before the Heian period are not treated. All works taken as subject had been made available in print, in one form or another, up to the year the *surimono* series was commissioned.

Most illustrations in the series depict human figures; the respective protagonists in crucial scenes. The penmanship in drawing the (Japanese and occasional Chinese) figures is in tune with that in book

[404] See discussion of this series in Forrer (2013), pp. 156-157.
[405] Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 211.
[406] Smits (2000), p. 240.
[407] Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 211 and Forrer (2013), p. 156.

illustrations by Hokusai, similar to what Carpenter remarked with regard to the *Mōgyū surimono* series. Despite the fact that the figures are depicted at the height of the story, the illustrations generally convey an atmosphere of calmness rather than action. The compositions have unobtrusive backgrounds so as to leave space for the poems, which are relatively many per print.

1824 *Uji shūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語, for the Katsushikaren, by Gakutei

Uji shūi monogatari 宇治拾遺物語 ('*Tales from the later gleanings of Uji*', author unknown, early thirteenth century) consists of 196 tales, of which about two-thirds are Buddhist tales.[408] Some stories have their origins in Confucianism, others tell magnificent tales of figures from Japanese history. The Katsushikaren selected at least seven[409] tales, most of which are about Japanese historical figures, but also one story from India and one Confucian story. The *surimono* in this series have the distinct feature of being framed in a border of around a centimeter and a half in width, in which a pattern of broken ice and roundels made up of three Katsushikaren logos and roundels in the shape of plum blossoms against a brown background.[410] The compositions consist of figures - standing mostly - depicted in a key moment in the respective tale. Unlike many earlier *surimono* designs, the backgrounds are completely filled. A *tanzaku*-shaped oblong space is left open for the poems - two per print - to the left of the images. The subtle wave patterns in this space accentuate the reference to *tanzaku* poem cards, which often have similar patterns as decoration.

The obvious publication to look for possible similarities in depiction of certain tales is the sixteen-volume (partly) illustrated edition that came out in 1659, through the publishing house Hayashi Izumi no jō 林和泉掾 from Kyoto (author and illustrator unknown). That edition was clearly a success as it survives in various Japanese library collections in relatively large quantities today. This can also be attributed to the fact that it was the only printed edition to be published during the Edo period. The simple black-and-white illustrations in that book show the high point in the respective tales. However, only one of the tales illustrated by Gakutei was also illustrated in the 1659 edition. This concerns the tale about the statesman Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966-1028) and his white dog that warned him for certain cursed earthenware vessels buried near the entrance of a temple. Although the illustration in the book contains some elements that are also present in Gakutei's rendition, the composition by Gakutei does not borrow from that in the book illustration in any way. Neither does Gakuteis's illustration match illustrations on surviving *emaki*. Once again, the *surimono* designs prove not to be reliant on existing iconographies.

Uji shūi monogatari was studied by *kokugaku* scholars during the later Edo period, as evinced by

[408] *Uji shūi monogatari* is translated in its entirety in Mills (1970). Mills counts 197 tales: tale 126 (vol. 11, tale no. 3) consists of two parts and Mills counts those as two separate numbers.
[409] It is possible that the total number of prints in this series is seven, given the fact that the Katsushikaren issued more sets and series of for instance seven and six prints in the previous years.
[410] As noted also in Mirviss and Carpenter (1995), p. 204.

manuscripts listed in the database of the National Institute of Japanese Literature.[411] Printed commentaries do not survive. There is a possibility that at least one of the poets involved in this series was familiar with the study of *Uji shūi monogatari* through his activities as *kokugaku* scholar: Bairyūen 梅竜園, pseudonym of Nakagami Moritoki 中神守節 (1766-1824[412]), was a high-ranking samurai who reportedly studied with Ōta Nanpo. Out of the six prints of this series I have been able to investigate, Bunbunsha takes the honorary position in five. The only print in which another poet takes that position is the print depicting the tale of the robber Hakamadare 袴垂 (n.d.) who tries to rob the courtier Fujiwara no Yasumasa 藤原保昌 (958-1036), where Bairyūen takes this position. He must have been important in commissioning this series, if not for his scholarly activities, than at least for his respectable position in the shogunate. Bairyūen's poem mentions '*ashiwara no kuni*', 'land of reeds' such as the surroundings of Kyoto where Hakamadare hid before attempting the robbery, but also a term that is used in *Kojiki* to refer to Japan. Furthermore, the tale also selected for this series, of a retainer of one Muneyuki who very bravely shoots a tiger in Korea after which Japanese warriors are lauded for their bravery and dedication, further underlines the overall self-praising nature of this series commissioned by the largely samurai-populated Katsushikaren.

Mid 1820s *Sangokushi tōen ketsugi* 三國志桃宴結妓, for the Shippōren, by Hokkei

Like the *Five tiger generals* by Gakutei for 1818, this triptych was inspired by *Sangokushi engi, Romance of the three kingdoms*. This romanticized adaptation of the *History of the three kingdoms* includes fictional episodes, such as the famed 'oath at the peach orchard' parodied in the Shippōren triptych. This oath between three generals became part of popular imagination since the *Romance of the three kingdoms* was published in China, and likewise in Japan. Each leaf of the *Sangokushi* triptych, designed by Hokkei, depicts a high ranking prostitute. Although one would expect the women to somehow be linked to the generals from the novel, they each represent one of the major cities, Edo, Osaka and Kyoto - noted also in the series' emblem. The women have different hairstyles and different styles of clothing, indicative of their location. Their clothing features a single dragon that could be interpreted to be of Chinese origin, but other than that, purely Japanese motifs. The poems focus on the fact that the women are from the different cities rather than on any relation to the protagonists of the episode mentioned in the title of the triptych, although some general references to the oath and the peach orchard are made. It is obvious that the concept of 'three kingdoms' is used as a vehicle to display a degree of connoisseurship of the brothels of the 'three kingdoms' (of popular culture) within Japan, rather than of a knowledge of the novel. Moreover, the one thing that is heavily represented in the designs is the Shippōren poetry group logo; indicating that some form of self-promotion was a major motivation for this commission.

[411] Some listings are based on records on the history of *kokugaku* for instance, and the location of the actual manuscript is not known.
[412] The year of death of Bairyūen is also the reason the year of publication of this series must be 1824 at the latest.

c. 1828 *Suikoden goko shōgun* 水滸伝五虎将軍, for the Gogawa, by Gakutei

The Chinese classic *Suikoden* 水滸伝, "*Heroes of the Water Margin*", Chinese title *Shuihu zhuan*, is considered as one of the foremost classics of Chinese literature. The story tells of 108 'heroes' of the twelfth century; outlaws "motivated by feelings of honour, justice and loyalty"[413], although many of them were not of undisputed behaviour themselves. The novel was written in vernacular Chinese, which would have to its wide readership and popularity. Authorship and conception of the Chinese original are complex and unclear. It is assumed that oral transmission of a partially factual account was gradually "expanded with the addition of fictitious exploits".[414] According to Klompmakers, the novel reached some form of completion during the fourteenth century, with authorship attributed to Shi Nai'an 施耐庵 (fourteenth century) and/or Luo Guanzhong, believed to be the former's pupil.[415]

The novel made its way to Japan in the early eighteenth century, where it was studied and translated firstly by the Confucian scholar Okajima Kanzan 岡島冠山 (1674-1728), who studied under the famed fellow Confucianist scholar Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728).[416] After the translation by Kanzan, titled *Tsūzoku chūgi suikoden* 通俗忠義水滸伝 ('*A popular version of the loyal heroes of the water margin*') was published near the very end of his life, a variety of adaptations started to appear. According to Klompmakers, the real breakthrough in its popularity among the general public in Japan came in the early nineteenth century, influenced by three major projects:[417] the first is a collaboration between Takizawa Bakin and Katsushika Hokusai who delivered the illustrated *Shinpen suikogaden* 新編水滸画伝 ('*Illustrated Suikoden, New edition*'), first ten volumes of which were published between late 1805/1806[418] and 1807 (as I have mentioned in footnote 21, Bakin would retire from the project after this first installment, the remaining 80 volumes to be authored by Takai Ranzan, though much later, from 1828 onwards. Hokusai would also retire from the project, but at a much later stage[419]). The second project is the publication between 1825 and 1835 of Bakin's serial novel *Keisei suikoden* 傾城水滸伝 ('*Courtesan's* Suikoden'), attractive books of compact *chūhon* format with text in *kana* enveloping the illustrations. The third project is Kuniyoshi's print series *Tsūzoku suikoden gōketsu ippyakuhachinin no hitori* 通俗水滸伝豪傑一百八人之一個 ('*The 108 heroes of the popular* Suikoden'), published between c. 1827 and c. 1830.

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[413] Klompmakers (1998), pp. 18-19. For this introduction of *Suikoden*, its conception and popularity in Japan, I rely heavily on Klompmakers (1998).
[414] Klompmakers (1998), p. 19.
[415] Klompmakers (1998), p. 20.
[416] Klompmakers (1998), p. 23.
[417] Klompmakers (1998), pp. 23-30.
[418] See remark by Forrer (2013), p. 304.
[419] Hokusai also illustrated the book *Ehon Suikoden* 絵本水滸伝 ('Illustrated Suikoden'), which was published in 1829 by Manbandō 萬板堂. Furthermore, in the same year, Hokkei illustrated the *kyōka* book *Suikoden eiyū saishiki eshū* 水滸伝英雄彩色画集 ('*Collection of pictures of heroes of* Suikoden', in two volumes) for the Hanazonoren.

Suikoden received ample attention from *kyōka* society. Numerous book and *surimono* publications exist with some or other reference to *Suikoden*, such as *Kyōka suikoden*, illustrated by Gakutei, which I have mentioned already in section 3.3.3. In 1829, the Hanazonoren issued *Kyōka suikoden gazōshū* 狂歌水滸伝画像集 ('*Collection of illustrations of the* kyōka Suikoden') illustrated by Hokkei. The list of *surimono* issued in sets numbers at least five series and pentaptychs on the subject. The earliest of these is an untitled series designed by Shunman, for his own *kyōka* circle, from c. 1807.[420] In this series, courtesans from the Yoshiwara brothel district are presented as heroes from *Suikoden*, one per print. About seventeen designs are known. The prints, in vertical *koban* format, give the names of the heroes from the Chinese novel. The poems refer to their attributes and match these to behavior or status of certain courtesans. The brothel names are sometimes mentioned, which accentuates the familiarity of the poets with the goings on in this district. This series does not emphatically mention *Suikoden* in a title, which is why the series as such is not treated separately here. Nonetheless, it can be surmised here that Shunman and the poets around him took inspiration from the first issues of *Shinpen suikogaden*.

The first *surimono* series to specifically include *Suikoden* in the title is *Chūshin Suikoden* 忠臣水滸伝八番の内 ('*Loyal retainers of* Suikoden, *a series of eight*'), commissioned by the Kankōgawa and designed by Hokusai, probably during the early 1800s.[421] The series refers not to *Suikoden* as such, rather to a *yomihon* 読本 (litt. 'reading book', a genre of fiction in the vernacular, usually novels in historical settings, influenced by such works from China[422]) by the same title *Chūshin Suikoden* authored by Santō Kyōden and illustrated by Kitao Shigemasa in 1799 (part one in five fascicles) and 1801 (part two, also in five fascicles). The series depicts elegant young women in parodies, *mitate*, of the male figures featured in the book by Kyōden.

The first *surimono* set to clearly refer to figures from *Suikoden* itself is *Suikoden goko shōgun* 水滸伝五虎将軍 ('*The five tiger generals from Suikoden*'[423]), a pentaptych designed by Gakutei around 1828. Gakutei actually authored the first four parts of an adaptation of *Suikoden*, issued in the form of a *yomihon*, and illustrated the first two parts of it. The book carried the title *Shunketsu shintō suikoden* 俊傑神稲水滸伝 ('*Heroes of the sacred Suikoden*') and the first part was issued in 1829, with a preface dated to 1828. Gakutei's involvement is further evidence of his status as a scholar and translator of Chinese literature, and also explains his familiarity with *Suikoden* in particular.

Gakutei depicts three of the five tiger generals seated on elaborate Chinese style thrones and the other two seated on the floor, on a leopard and a tiger hide respectively. They have full beards and wear elaborate clothing - intricate motifs printed using various colors and metallic pigments - in a style that can

[420] Technically, Shunman still headed the Hakuraku poetry circle at the time he designed this series, yet the series does not contain a group emblem.
[421] Three prints from this series are described and illustrated in Mizuta Bijutsukan, Jōsai Kokusai Daigaku (Ed., 2004), nos. 158, 159, and 161.
[422] See for instance Zolbrod (1966).
[423] The character *go* for five is styled as an hourglass, which is the logo of the Gogawa.

again be characterized as an idealization rather than a factual depiction of clothing of that era in Chinese history. The five generals, one per sheet, are seated on a balcony, the railing of which provides a continuous background throughout the pentaptych. The sheets are numbered one thru five and the names of the generals are given before the poems.[424] The poet Fukunoya Uchinari features prominently in this set; he is the only poet who is included with two poems, one of which is a *kyōshi*. Together with Gakutei, Fukunoya was also involved as a judge for the 1822 publication *Kyōka suikoden*. This topic, therefore, was obviously a favorite of both of them.

The publication from the early 1820s shows that Gakutei and the poets who commissioned illustrations from him took inspiration from *Suikoden* already before the publication of *Shinpen suikogaden* was continued. Around the time the Gakutei's pentaptych was issued, however, Bakin's serial novel *Keisei suikoden* was already being published successfully for some years, Kuniyoshi's popular commercial prints were being sold, *Shinpen suikogaden* was about to be continued, and Gakutei himself was working on the publication of his own *yomihon* inspired by *Suikoden*. The pentaptych cannot be labeled as a product of avant-garde literary activities per se, although the Gakutei and the commissioning poets were clearly not far behind the developments in the appreciation of *Suikoden* of their time.

1829 *Fūzoku onna suikoden ippyakuhachinin no uchi* 風俗女水滸伝壹百八人内, for the Hisakataya shachū, by Kuniyoshi

After his popular commercial *Suikoden* print series came out, Kuniyoshi received commissions for several *Suikoden*-inspired *surimono* series. The first of these is a series for the circle around Hisakataya Misora, for the ox year 1829.[425] As the title suggests, it shows elegant women as heroes from the famous novel. The suggestion in the subtitle that the series consists of one hundred and eight designs is false, of course. On the prints, the first part of the title is given in a cartouche that more or less resembles the cartouche found in Kuniyoshi's commercial series of *Suikoden* heroes. The subtitle is printed in plain characters to the left of that. The prints carry individual print titles as well, being the (partial) names of the heroes that are parodied. These print titles are encased by the emblem of Hisakataya's circle. A poem by Hisakataya himself is included in almost every print. Unusually, many *surimono* in this series feature a printer's seal next to Kuniyoshi's signature, reading *Surikō* Shinzō 摺工 晋象 (Printer: Shinzō).

The illustrations display a full composition with plenty of color, typical of Kuniyoshi's work and also of his prints in the commercial *Suikoden* series. However, the *surimono* lack the dark tones in the backgrounds often found in the commercial series. The women, furthermore, have considerably gentler facial expressions than the fierce heroes in the large format series. They are depicted in various settings, in a boat on a river, in a palanquin, seated in an interior, etc. The settings and attributes depicted in the

[424] They are, one thru five: Guan Sheng 関勝 (Jp. Kan Shō), 秦明 Qin Ming (Jp. Shin Mei), Lin Chong 林冲 (Jp. Rin Chū), 呼延灼 Huyan Zhuo (Jp. Koen Shaku), and Dong Ping 董平 (Jp. Tō Hei).
[425] One *surimono* carries an illustration of young woman riding a large ox in the typical iconography of this animal in depictions for the zodiac. The second poem on this *surimono*, by Hisakataya, mentions the ox specifically.

illustrations are references to the biographical backgrounds and heroic feats of the heroes, although they do not correspond with Kuniyoshi's illustrations of the male versions in his original print series in terms of composition. Thus, the designs that Kuniyoshi made for this *surimono* series are new in the sense that he did not rely on his earlier designs or copied female figures into existing compositions of his own hand.

1832 *Fūzoku onna suikoden hyakuhachiban no uchi* 風俗女水滸伝百八番ノ内, for the Hisakataya shachū, by Kuniyoshi

Three years after the first series for Hisakataya and his circle, Kuniyoshi once again took a commission from his circle for a series with the same subject, almost the same title, and the same style of illustrations. The printer was also the aforementioned Shinzō. It is often dated to 1832 because of the frequent references to dragons in both poetry and image.[426] The main difference with the previous series is that now, individual print titles are omitted. Viewers and readers need to grasp which hero is referred to from the clues in the poems and the illustrations. Again, poems by Hisakataya himself feature prominently throughout the series.

One of the designs provides a clue to the inspiration for the series' creators. The illustration in question - depicting a woman under a *kotatsu* on which stands an angry cat - includes two fascicles of a book, one showing the title *Tsūzoku Suikoden* (vol. 22). Forrer suggests that this is a reference to the serial novel *Haishi suikoden* 稗史水滸伝 ('*The* Suikoden *novel*') that Kuniyoshi illustrated around the same time, in an attempt to draw attention to that publication.[427] This is unlikely, since *Haishi suikoden* features covers illustrated with dragons as well as illustrations on every page - a feature that Kuniyoshi in this scenario would have certainly have accentuated. However, the pages of the opened fascicle on the floor that the woman had been reading from show text only. Unfortunately, there is no *Suikoden* publication with this exact title that can be matched to the book that Kuniyoshi included in this design. The title that comes closest is Okajima Kanzan's *Tsūzoku chūgi Suikoden*, from which '*chūgi*' may have been left out. This book was issued in 80 volumes, and features text only. Including the two fascicles with this particular title in this *surimono* design suggests that Kuniyoshi or the commissioning poets wished to refer to the earliest - unillustrated - *Suikoden* publication in Japanese known to them, boasting more erudition than by referring to all the popular illustrated versions that had appeared after it.

1832 *Fūzoku onna suikoden ippyakuhachinin no uchi shiokumi gobantsuzuki* 風俗女水滸伝壹百八人ノ内 汐汲五番続, for the Taikogawa, (pentaptych) by Kuniyoshi

In a somewhat similar style, Kuniyoshi designed a pentaptych on the subject of elegant women as *Suikoden* heroes. In this case, however, it concerns a set for the Taikogawa depicting women on a beach,

[426] For instance by Forrer (2013), pp. 304-5. Indeed, the dragon is featured as part of at least three illustrations. However, the goddess Benten - commonly associated with the (year of the) snake - is depicted in one of the other designs, and for instance a tiger is referred to in yet another design.
[427] Forrer (2013), p. 305.

engaged in gathering sea water for the production of salt. In addition to a title and subtitle, this set also carries a further title that can be dubbed the pentaptych title. This is stamped in red, as is the drum-shaped group emblem, and reads *Shiokumi gobatsuzuki* 汐汲五番続 (‘*Pentaptych of brine maidens*’). This refers to a dance in kabuki, which is in turn based on an early Kamakura period story in which one Matsukaze dances with the yoke and two buckets suspended from it.[428] In this pentaptych, the names of the heroes to which the women are matched are given as well. The year of issue is not known, but it can be assumed that it coincides with the second ‘*Onna Suikoden*’ series Kuniyoshi designed for Hisakataya.[429]

c. 1830 *Suiko gogyō* 水滸五行, for the Hanazonoren, by Hokkei

Another set of five *surimono* on the subject of *Suikoden* heroes was designed by Hokkei for the Hanazonoren around 1830.[430] *Suiko gogyō* 水滸五行 (‘*The five elements of the water margin*’) is a series of five, not a pentaptych, and depicts five outlaws from the Chinese novel coupled to one of the five elements. The five elements are important in Chinese astrology and geomancy, for instance, and provide a suitable framework to present this selection of five figures.[431] Despite the double Chinese subject, the poems contain several references to Japanese cultural history - even a reference to *Kojiki*.[432] The compositions are reminiscent of the commercial print series by Kuniyoshi in the sense that the men are depicted as powerful figures, larger than life, for they barely fit in the constraints of the print format - *shikishiban* in this case. Haft notes that the names of some of the heroes are “mistaken”[433], which could be found to come from certain text editions. This series designed by Hokkei is further proof of the influence of Kuniyoshi’s print series on *kyōka* society.

c. 1830 *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草, for the Manjiren, by Hokkei

Several years after the two *Tsurezuregusa* series designed by Shunman and Gakutei were issued, the Manjiren commissioned a third series to take this text as subject from Hokkei. This series forms part of the same case study in section 5.3.2, which is why details of individual prints will again be left out in this

[428] Explained on http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/s/shiokumi.htm (accessed March 28, 2016).
[429] Kuniyoshi also designed a pentaptych for the Hisakataya shachū on the theme of seafood gathering at ebb tide, which likely dates to about the same year. This pentaptych is titled *Shioi goban no uchi* 汐干五番内 (‘*Five prints of the ebb-tide*’) and while making no reference to *Suikoden*, shows a somewhat similar composition of women at the seaside. Keyes (1981), pp. 77-79 provides an introduction to the *Shioi goban no uchi* pentaptych.
[430] Forrer (2013), p. 180, dates the series to c. 1825, based on the fact that many more series or sets of five were issued around that year. Although such series were indeed relatively numerous around that year, series or sets of five were also issued around the year 1830. However, the use of solid gold background in some of the designs is consistent with that short-lived tendency in 1825 and 1826, as I have demonstrated in a lecture for the International Ukiyo-e Society in November 2015. Still, the composition of the figures within the frame of the print format leads me to believe that Hokkei’s designs date from after the commercial print series by Kuniyoshi, thus later than 1827. Since I discussed the Kuniyoshi ‘*Suikoden* women’ *surimono* set and series consecutively, the Hokkei series is placed after those.
[431] Four prints in this series are discussed by Haft (2008), pp. 244-247, who gives further explanation of the Chinese idea of five elements - also ‘five phases’.
[432] In one of the poems on the print for ‘metal’. See Haft (2008), pp. 244-245.
[433] Haft (2008), pp. 245-246.

brief description. Hokkei's illustrations for this series show a wider variety than those in the earlier series, with still lifes, human figures - in classic or contemporary guise - and landscapes in different configurations. The introductory phrases are framed nicely in a cartouche that resembles the opened page of a *Tsurezuregusa* book, yet do not include the number of the essay. Hokkei, too, borrows from Shunman; the composition of a suit of armor and daikon in the design for the same section is a clear indication of this. The atmosphere of poetry and image, and the wording of the introductory phrases throughout the series will be discussed further in the case study.

5.3 Case studies

5.3.1 *Surimono* treating a classical work of literature without pictorial tradition: *Tosa nikki*

Surimono creators not only broke away from existing pictorial traditions, sometimes they even chose works of Japanese classical literature without any existing pictorial tradition for their series. Although such series are few, they do underline an intellectual confidence and boldness in handling cultural heritage. In the cases that such works did not have a pictorial tradition connected to them, it is usually because they did not have a strong exegetical tradition either, and were not widely read. This makes the choice for such works of literature even more unexpected as inspiration for a *surimono* series. In this section, I will investigate how *surimono* series took inspiration from works of literature for which only scanty pictorial and varying exegetical tradition existed, and how both the designs and the poetry incorporated knowledge of the content of those texts.

Surimono referring to *Tosa nikki*

Tosa nikki is a classical work of literature written by the Heian court official and poet Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (868?-945) around the year 935. It is commonly called a travel diary; it consists of 55 entries, one for each day of the farewell ceremonies and the sea journey back to the capital (Heiankyō 平安京, present-day Kyoto) that Tsurayuki[434] made after having stayed in Tosa province (present day Kōchi prefecture on Shikoku) for several years, fulfilling his duties as governor. Tsurayuki was an accomplished poet.[435] He and three other men were asked to compile an imperial poetry anthology, which resulted in the '*Collection of Japanese poems, new and old*', *Kokin Wakashū* 古今和歌集, commissioned c. 905 and completed c. 914. Tsurayuki was also the principal compiler of other famous poetry anthologies. In contrast, the *Tosa nikki* was a sort of private project, and an unconventional project at that. It is a diary that was probably

[434] In Ki no Tsurayuki, Ki is the family name and Tsurayuki is the given name. The name will from this point onwards be abbreviated to Tsurayuki, as is being done in most Japanese and Western literature on the subject. The names of artists and poets will be abbreviated to the name they are best known by. For example: (Kubo) Shunman, and Bunbunsha (Kanikomaru).
[435] For a detailed overview of Ki no Tsurayuki's life, see Suzuki (1991), pp. 98-103.

based on a combination of fact and fiction, which starts by stating that the author is a woman who will try to write a diary like men are said to do.[436] The themes touched upon in the *Tosa nikki* are sometimes regarded unsuitable for official anthologies.[437] For instance, Tsurayuki makes frequent reference to the death of his nine year old daughter, who didn't live to see the day of their return to the capital. It is thought that he wrote the diary shortly upon his return in Shōhei 8 (935), and it is therefore presumed to date from 935 or 936.[438] The daily writings vary in length from a single sentence to long prose descriptions of the situation of the day, providing a vehicle for up to six *waka* poems mixed into the text per day.

Although the author states being a woman in the opening words of the diary, there has never really been serious doubt that it was anyone other than Tsurayuki himself who wrote it. Suzuki lists six reasons why it was Tsurayuki, and argues that as soon as twenty to 30 years after Tsurayuki died, "people in certain circles" knew he was the author.[439] Reading the diary, one gets the feeling that the journey that is being described never really took place, at least not in the way suggested in the text. As Helen Craig McCullough states: "The journal appears to be a blend of fact and fiction built around two original nuclei: brief calendar notations, written in Chinese, of the kind commonly found in men's diaries of the period; and *waka* composed to while away time during the trip."[440] The concept of a 'female' narrator who recites the governor's poems is obviously constructed[441], which makes the *Tosa nikki* a work of interest to the interdisciplinary discourse of Japanese literature and gender studies.

In the mid 1810s, the circles of three prominent *kyōka* poets; Shōfūdai Teitei, Hisakataya Misora and Bunbunsha Kanikomaru jointly commissioned Kubo Shunman to design a series of *surimono* based on *Tosa nikki*. The text was never before taken as the subject of an entire *surimono* series and never since. This does not make it the first time the text was referred to in *surimono*; several years earlier, Hōtei Hokuga 抱亭北鵞 (c.1769-1835, from 1810 calling himself Hōtei Gosei 抱亭五清[442]) designed a print referring to *Tosa nikki* for the series *Monogatari awase* 物語合 (*'A matching of tales'*) for the year 1809.[443] It depicts two large

[436] McCullough and Ki no Tsurayuki (1985), p. 263.
[437] McCullough (1985), p. 499. For further discussion of the implications of Tsurayuki's decision to employ a woman persona, see Miyake (1996), pp. 41-73; Miner (1969); Heldt (2005), pp. 7-34.
[438] Suzuki, Ki no Tsurayuki, et al. (1957), pp. 9, 10.
[439] Suzuki, Ki no Tsurayuki, et al. (1957), pp. 6, 7.
[440] McCullough (1985), p. 497. In my opinion, one can even wonder over whether the *waka* in *Tosa nikki* were really composed during the trip. This question is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis.
[441] This kind of construction is not uncommon in medieval Japanese poetry, as explained in Smits (1995), pp. 28-29.
[442] A detailed study of Gosei's life and works was executed by Tanaka (1986).
[443] According *Ukiyo-e ruikō*, the name Hokuga was bestowed on him by his teacher Hokusai. After changing his artist's name to Hōtei Gosei 抱亭五清, he would also use the name Sunayama 砂山 Gosei. The print by Gosei is reproduced and discussed to some extent in Mirviss and Carpenter (1995), p. 205, McKee (2006), p. 74, and McKee (2008 [1]), p. 420 (dated 1808 here). The date of 1809 mentioned there is based on the fact that many *surimono* depicting shells are linked to Enoshima and the Benten shrine. Since Benten allegedly married a snake, the connection suggests a snake year. That is the case for this print in the series; whether other designs in this series - unknown to me - make similar references to the snake year, in uncertain. The entry for this design, in Mirviss and Carpenter (1995, plate 89), states that it is thought Hōtei Hokuga changed his name to Hōtei Gosei

abalone shells, of which one is up-side-down, richly decorated with mica. It features one poem by Rokujuen's son Jingairō Kiyosumi. The poem revolves around the theme of *toshidama*, the tradition of presenting (one's subordinates[444]) with presents at New Year. The poem on this print picks up on the gender issue by punning on the first line of the *Tosa nikki*, citing the first three words, but changing the word for 'man' into 'woman'. This is probably because only women dive for abalone shells, and this man will 'give it a try', just as the 'female author' of the *Tosa nikki* 'tried her hand on a diary men are said to write'.

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in 1810 (which is also the year Tanaka (1986), p. 56, gives.)). This is somewhat supported by data from the NIJL, which shows that he contributed (an) illustration(s) for the *yomihon Kōshi futaba monogatari* 孝子嫩物語 ('*Tales of young filial children*'), written by the prolific (educational) writer, poet, and scholar of both Japanese and Chinese texts and historic subjects Takai Ranzan 高井蘭山 (1762-1838), published in 1808 (other illustrators are fellow Hokusai pupils Hokuju 北寿 and Hokuba). Then, his signature 'Gosei (no) e 五清絵' is found in the result book *Kyōka hyōbanki* 狂歌評判記 ('*Record of kyōka judgings*'), judged by Rokujuen with a preface dated 1811. Later, a *surimono* incorporating references to the long and short months of the year 1813 is signed 'Sunayama Gosei ga 砂山五清画'. That print is included in one of the Hayashi albums kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, acc. no. JP2151. It is unclear for which circle the *Monogatari awase* series was designed. It generally appears, however, that Gosei worked mainly for the Gogawa. At least all books for which he designed illustrations seem to have been Gogawa publications (as verified in the database of the NIJL). Some signatures on *surimono* he designed for the Gogawa are accompanied by the seals 'Go' 五 and 'sei' 清, whereby the 'Go' is stylized to look like an hourglass, very similar to the Gogawa logo.

[444] Giving *toshidama* is still common practice in Japan. Nowadays, (grand)parents often give their (grand)children money in special gift envelopes that are decorated with red and white strings (the usual colors for presents given at celebratory events). Sometimes, a strip of yellowish paper is added, which represents the strip of dried awabi that used to be tied to *toshidama*.

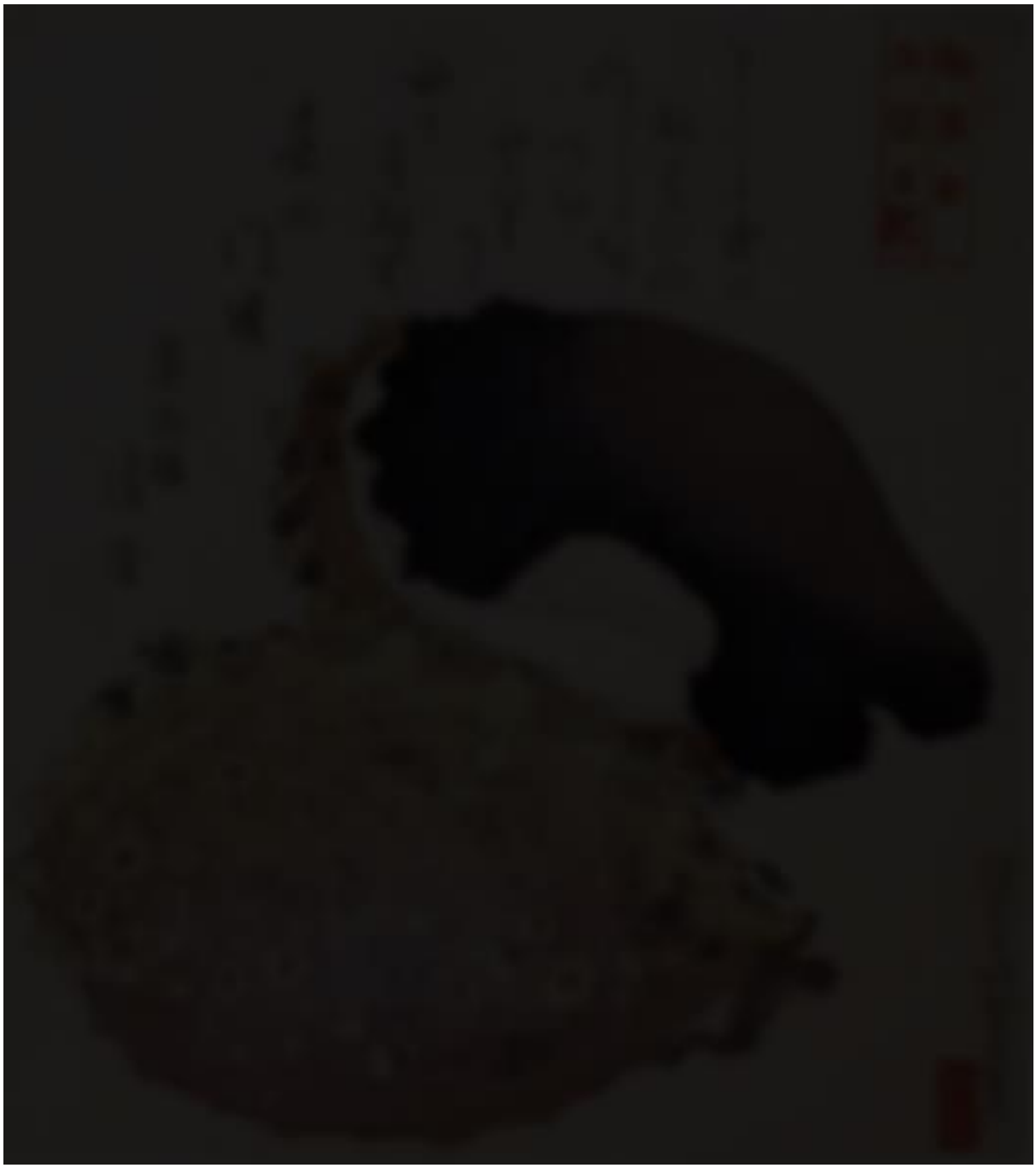

Fig. 17. Hōtei Hokuga, *Tosa nikki*, from the series *Monogatari awase*, c. 1809. Reproduced in Mirviss and Carpenter (2000), p. 69.

Let me decorate	*toshidama ni*	とし玉に
my present for the new year	*awabi no noshi wo*	あはひののしを
with dried *awabi*	*tsukeyarite*	つけやりて
like they say that women do:	*onna mo sunari*	女もすなり
a spring salute at your gate	*haru no kadorei*	春の門禮

This poem contains a pun on the opening sentence of the *Tosa nikki* that was likely familiar to

many. Even if one had not read the whole text, any mention of the literary classic would have contained the information that the text opens by stating it is a woman who is writing it, likely including the information that that is actually untrue. In that respect, the pun in Kiyosumi's poem is of the kind one would expect to surface in a frivolous *kyōka* on the theme of the *Tosa nikki*. Shells are often linked to female sexuality in the Japanese perception - also elsewhere in *Tosa nikki* in fact[445] - which gives this *surimono* also a slightly provocative touch. This *surimono* is of course part of a series on Japanese classics in general, which would explain the need for a more easily recognizable, less complicated humor. Whichever the case, the poems and prints in Shunman's *Tosa nikki* series, discussed below, will show a considerable difference in approach towards the theme.

The *Tosa nikki surimono* series designed by Shunman

The design depicting Tsurayuki and company on a boat setting out to sea can obviously be regarded as the first print in the series (fig. 18). The quotation taken from *Tosa nikki* is the very first line of the original text. The realistic illustration depicts the front half of a wooden boat with fine wooden railings and a small square sail, slightly turned away from the viewer and gently proceeding from left to right in the composition. Three men and one woman in fine Heian period clothes are seated on the deck, a large sheet of what appears to be paper between them. Further forwards, on the bow of the deck, three men in worker's clothes sit beside a large four-hooked anchor on a long rope. The vessel glides behind two pine trees on the shoreline. Beyond the boat, the calm sea stretches out towards the distant shore of hills and mountains. In the background, several small white sails.

[445] On the thirteenth day of the first month, Tsurayuki mentions women 'tucking up their skirts' and 'displaying mussels and abalones'. McCullough (1985), p. 274.

Fig. 18. Shunman, *Tosa nikki surimono* series, first design in the sequence, mid 1810s, coll. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. JP2078

The introductory quotation to the print design for this day reads:

I thought I'd try my hand at writing a diary of the kind that men commonly write.	*otoko mo su naru* / *nikki to iu mono o* / *onna mo shite min tote* / *suru nari*	男もすなる/ 日記といふものを/ 女もしてみんとて/ するなり

The first poem, on the right, reads:

At the cloth-cutting ceremony	*tabi koromo*	旅衣

celebrating starting on a travel garment	*kyō tachisomuru*	けふたち/そむる
the captain places	*eriiwai*	えりいはひ/
dried bonito chafings from Tosa	*yone ni tosabushi*	よねに土佐ふし/
on the rice[446]	*tsume ya funachō*	つめや舟長
- Bairintei Matsukage	- Bairintei Matsukage	- 梅隣亭松陰

The poem on the left reads:

We do not travel by Tosa colt	*tosakoma ni*	土佐駒に
but if we were	*norazu narite mo*	のらす/なりても
we already have a whip	*hashirasuru*	はしら/する
to make it run;	*muchi wa arikeri*	鞭は有けり
a tailwind for the boat	*fune no oikaze*	舟の追風
- Garyōen	- Garyōen	- 臥龍園

The combined poems and illustration conjure the atmosphere of a fairly leisurely outing on a small yet luxurious ship, with plenty of opportunity for composing poetry inspired by the changing landscapes and seascapes. Both poems incorporate things that Tosa province is known for, and connect these two New Year. Except for perhaps the tailwind (is the sail ballooning slightly there behind the tree?), the illustration does not echo the content of the poems. Neither poems nor illustration make reference to Tsurayuki's hardship, neither as disgruntled governor in the province nor as seasick passenger on board. The *surimono*, thus imagines Tsurayuki's journey as a harmonious event, and leaves the emotional distress of the author for what it is.

Another of the days taken as subject for a design is the first day of the New Year. Considering the function of *surimono* as celebratory print, it would have been odd if the first day of the New Year in Tsurayuki's diary had not been treated in the *surimono* series. For Tsurayuki and his travel companions, however, the day passes without festivities. Their trip started on the 21st day of the twelfth month, and ended on the sixteenth day of the second month. The travelers enter the New Year while on the boat. Instead of eating the usual New Year dishes, they share a pressed salted trout (*oshiayu*), which is a Tosa specialty.[447] For the Setsubun festival, it was common use to stick the head of a fish with a somewhat

[446] The 'cloth cutting ceremony' was held to celebrate the start of the manufacture of a new kimono. It involved placing some rice and dried bonito flakes on the cloth and is said to have developed during the Edo period. (According to the Kimono Term Dictionary: http://www.so-bien.com/kimono/tpo/eriiwai.html, accessed April 14, 2016.)
[447] McCullough and Ki no Tsurayuki (1985), p. 268.

similar sounding name, *nayoshi*, onto a wooden skewer as decoration.[448] This festival is connected to New Year's celebration and Tsurayuki states that everyone is speaking of the capital and the decorations that would be displayed all over the city.

Fig. 19. Shunman, *Tosa nikki surimono* series, '*New year's decorations*', mid 1810s, coll. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. JP2063.

[448] Kishimoto states (sheet 24, recto) that the head of the *nayoshi* is 'nowadays' replaced by that of an *iwashi* (sardine) for the Setsubun celebration. The first poem on this *surimono*, by Hōnensai Inafusa, explicitly mentions the word *setsubun*.

The introductory quotation to the print design for this day reads:

Things like the mullet heads on the straw ropes hung from the gates of the little houses, the holly…	*Koe no kado no / shirikumenawa no / nayoshi no kashira / hiiragi ra*	こへのかどの/しりくめなはの/なよしのかしら/ひゝらきら

The *Tosa nikki* text ends with the words '*ika ni zo*', meaning something like 'how about…', which should be placed in front of the English translation given above. Although it does not harm the grammar of the sentence, one can wonder why this was left out. The same phenomenon is noticed by Carpenter in the *Torikaebaya* series. He notes: "Sometimes the selection has a word or phrase of particular vivid visual suggestiveness, even if it refers to a trivial or incidental matter".[449] Perhaps the partial quotation on this print should merely be seen as a listing of visually appealing items connected to New Year's celebrations, since Shunman's design for this particular passage shows a branch of holly, a fan used in new year's offerings, an unfinished straw rope and a fish head on a stick.

The first poem, on the right, reads:

The power of the warbler's song makes devils cower in the land of the reed beds - Hōnensai Inafusa[450]	*uguisu no* *uta no chikara ni* *setsubun no* *onigami mo sukumu* *ashiwara no kuni* - Hōnensai Inafusa	鶯の 歌のちからに 節分の/ 鬼神もすくむ/ あし原の国 - 豊年斎稲房

This poem refers to the Setsubun festival, which has the function of chasing away evil spirits. In this case, devils flee for the felicitous song of the *uguisu*, instead of being chased away by soy beans that are traditionally cast. The devils in this poem flee into (land of) reeds; a phrase with distinct nativist overtones, since it links to the 'age of the gods' described in *Kojiki*. Reeds are also the material used for the straw rope. *Ashiwara* therefore serves as a pivot word, *kakekotoba*, in this *kyōka*.

The poem on the far left (the honorable position[451]), by Bunbunsha Kanikomaru, reads:

[449] Carpenter (2004), p. 101.
[450] Inafusa is found in KJJ, p. 20. No *kyōka* circle affiliation is mentioned.
[451] There are two poems on this print. The honorable position for poets is always far left in *surimono*, as can be noticed from many prints that carry multiple poems. The *kyōka* by poetry group leaders are rarely if ever placed

When the spring arrived	*haru tateba*	春立は
nobles and peasants	*kami shimo tomo ni*	かみしもともに
both celebrated	*iwawashiki*	いはゝしき
with the head of the mullet	*nayoshi no kashira*	名よしの頭
and the straw rope	*shirikume no nawa*	しりくめのなは
- Bunbunsha	- Bunbunsha	- 文ゝ舎

Bunbunsha's poem sketches an image of a group of people from different social strata, bound by a mutual celebratory event. That is in fact the situation on Tsurayuki's boat, although the travelers do not have a real *nayoshi* or *shirikumenawa* to celebrate with. The word(s) *kamishimo* can mean 'the higher and the lower', and is used with this meaning in Tsurayuki's record for day 22 of the twelfth month.[452] *Kamishimo* is also the name of a formal garment - consisting of an upper and lower piece - worn by samurai on official occasions in the Edo period. The word *nayoshi* is written with the character '*na*' for name, followed by '*yoshi*' in hiragana.[453] When followed by '*kashira*', 'head', it can be interpreted to mean 'those of good name', or 'people of high standing'. It seems Bunbunsha somehow aims to emphasize his samurai pedigree with his choice of words.

It should be noted that one print in Shunman's *Tsurezuregusa surimono* series of 1811 mentioned earlier, dealing with chapter 19, features a similar set of items relating to the celebration of Setsubun. A branch of holly, a *nayoshi*[454] head and tail on sticks, and - not present in the *Tosa nikki* print - a *masu* (square wooden rice measure) filled with the beans that are thrown around at Setsubun to chase away the evil spirits. In this print too, it seems that the imagery connects to the festivities around New Year, at which time *surimono* are usually issued after all, rather than to the scene that was quoted from the respective literary classic. Even without having scrutinized the layers of meaning in the *Tsurezuregusa surimono*, one might propose that the depiction of such a gathering of items appears to derive from a personal preference of Shunman's.

The straw rope depicted on the *surimono*, now known as *shimenawa* 注連縄, is an attribute of

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anywhere else than on the far left. The many ranking devices that are used in *kyōka* books may lead us to believe that there is also a hierarchal order in the poems that are not on the left in *surimono* (in case of a total of three poems or more).

[452] Although, as we have seen in the previous section, the phrasing "*kami shimo*" is distinctive of Kitamura Kigin's annotated edition, as later annotated editions commonly give "*kami naka shimo*".

[453] The name *nayoshi* is used for young *bora*, a flathead mullet in English. The characters for 'good name' explained above have actually been used in the past for this fish that makes a name change with age. This makes it somewhat unclear whether Bunbunsha has deliberately chosen these characters. However, the word *nayoshi* in the introductory lines is spelled with *hiragana* only.

[454] The fish heads depicted in either *surimono* are too far simplified to allow for identification of the species.

Shinto, where it has the primary function of delineating boundaries - for instance between the world of man and that of the gods. The rope features prominently in the legend of the sun goddess Amaterasu, who - once lured out of her rock cave where she hid, thus taking away the light - was prevented from re-entering the cave through the use of such a braided straw rope. Explanations of the history and use of this rope feature in all annotated versions of the text. There is meaning in the direction in which the rope is braided.

It is striking that Kishimoto goes to great lengths to explain the exact meaning of the word *shirikumenawa* in Tsurayuki's time.[455] He quotes from several sources, such as the *Seigenmondō*, a book on the year round festivities, *nenjūgyōji* 年中行事, first issued in 1544. A *shirikumenawa*, he explains in the notes above page 23, is similar to the *shimenawa* (braided straw rope used to separate the worlds of people and gods in Shinto religion), but unfinished on the left side. Interestingly, this is exactly what Shunman incorporated in his design. According to Kishimoto's notes, the syllables '*shiri*' in *shirikumenawa* point to the fact that the rope's bottom is yet unfinished, which in turn symbolizes spring time, when these ropes are braided. Since no mention of this is found in the *Tosa nikki* itself and the etymology behind this word is apparently unknown at the time - why else would Kishimoto annotate this so elaborately? - we can assume that both Shunman and Bunbunsha took this knowledge from Kishimoto's research. Furthermore, Kishimoto gives the reading '*shirikume no nawa*', while adding that the '*no*' in between could not be verified as part of Tsurayuki's original text. In the *surimono*, '*shirikumenawa*' is used for the quotation, whereas Bunbunsha uses the phrase '*shirikume no nawa*'. Of course, the added '*no*' provides the seventh syllable needed to complete the *kyōka* meter, but again, the use of both varieties of the word seems to point to the *Tosa nikki kōshō*.

Another scene that was taken up as subject for a *surimono* in this series is that of the seventh day of the first month. Tsurayuki's entry for this day is unusually long, especially regarding the fact that the entries between New Year's day and the seventh day consist of one or only several sentences. The travelers are held up by bad weather again, and they are visited by people from a house called 'Ike' ('The Pond'). These visitors carry long boxes hung from poles on their shoulders, which are filled with fish. Tsurayuki lists the various fishes that they are being presented with, stating that they include fishes from both sea and rivers, but no *koi* (carp). This is a pun on the fact that Japanese ponds are commonly filled with *koi*, yet among all the fishes that the people from 'The Pond' bring, there is not a carp to be found.[456] It is exactly this phrase that is taken as introduction to the poems on the print for day seven:

There was no carp, but starting with *funa*, there	*koi wa nakute / funa yori*	鯉はなくて/鮒よ
were fish from the rivers, from the sea, and	*hajimete / kawa no mo umi no*	りはじめて/かは

[455] Most current classical Japanese dictionaries consider *shirikumenawa* and *shimenawa* to be synonyms.
[456] McCullough (1985), p. 269.

other things, in long boxes hung from poles on their shoulders.

mo / *kotomono domo* / *nagabitsu ni ni* / *naitsuzukete* / *okosetari*

のも海のも/ことものとも/長ひつに荷/なひつゝけて/おこせたり

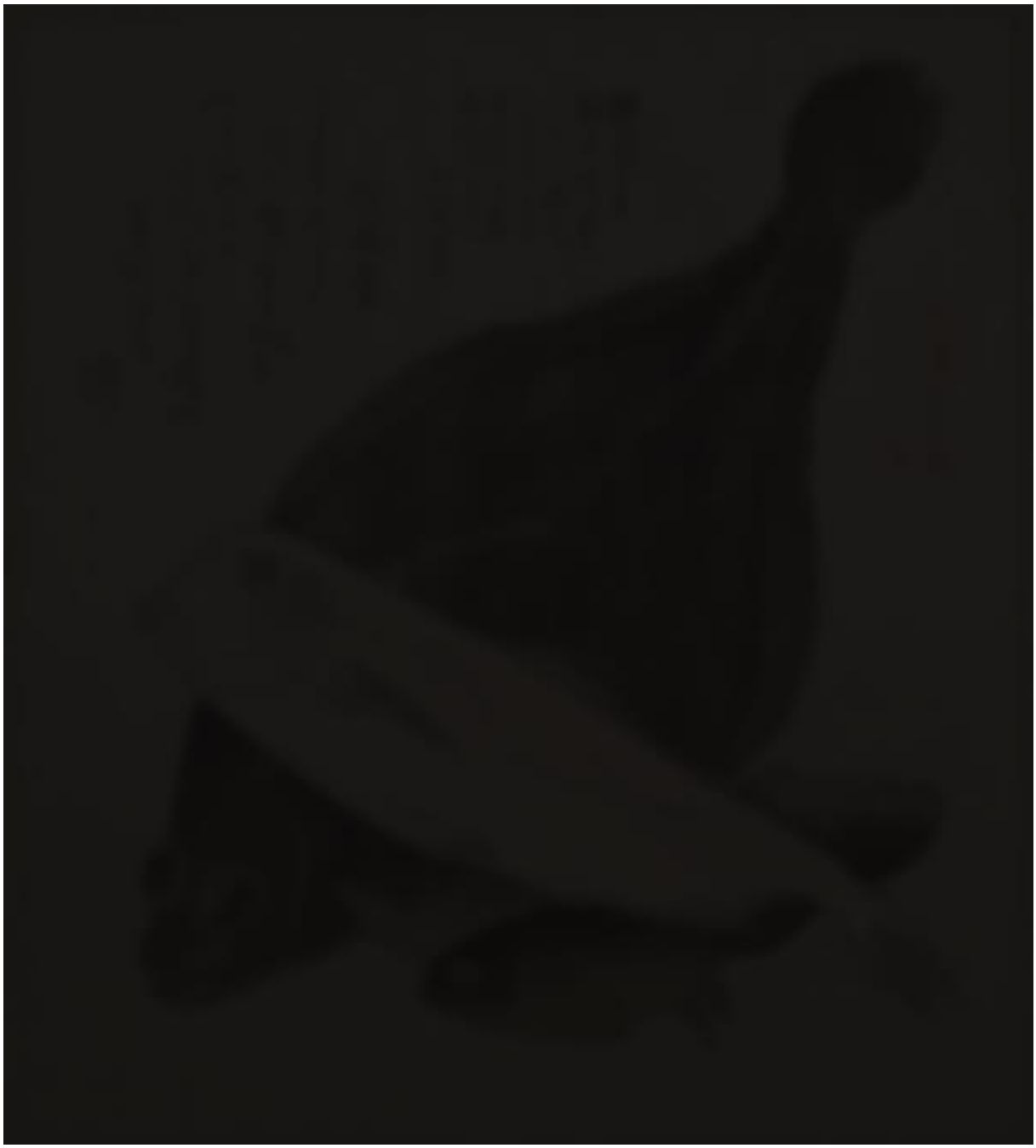

Fig. 20. Shunman, *Tosa nikki surimono* series, '*Three species of fish*', mid 1810s, coll. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. JP2079.

Shunman's design shows five fishes, one *karei* 鰈 (halibut), one *amadai* アマダイ (horsehead), and three *funa* 鮒 (crucian perch). The fishes are drawn in a true-to-life style, and the horsehead is covered with

mother-of-pearl to give the scales a shiny effect. The fishes seem to be loosely stacked upon one another, and - as stated earlier - there is no background to accompany this still-life.

The one poem, by Shōfūdai, reads:

While I enjoy	*misakana ni*	みさかなに
some *konbu* as appetizer	*konbu tōbete*	こんぶたうべて
I'm imagining	*tsurayuki ga*	つらゆきか
Tsurayuki's spring boat trip	*funaji o zo omou*	ふなぢをそ思ふ
and my head starts spinning round	*haru no haroyoi*	春のほろ酔
- Shōfūdai	- Shōfūdai	- 松風臺

Among the poems in this series, Shōfūdai's *kyōka* is actually one of the more frivolous. It gives an impression of a reader far away in both time and place from Tsurayuki's hardship, realizing he is better off chewing on some *konbu* (seaweed) to go with his drink, than being on a rocking boat. If he is ever to experience any motion before his eyes, it is likely to be caused by having had one too many celebratory New Year's *tososake* than by being on an inescapable sea journey trying to get back to the center of civilization. The word *misakana* may be intended to pun on the word *sakanami*, which means 'waves from the opposite direction', but the syllables that form *sakana* could somehow also be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the fact that Tsurayuki is being presented with different kinds of fish, while the word *sakana* nor *uo* (which was the usual word for fish in Tsurayuki's days) is explicitly mentioned in the original text. Other than that, the poem does not really hook into the situation Tsurayuki faces on that particular day.

The fourth print to be discussed was designed around a poem that appears at the end of the entry for the 20th day of the first month. The poem is cited as introductory text for this design, while omitting the first line:

It is the same moon	*[miyako nite]*	「都にて」
I saw at the mountain rim	*yama no ha ni mishi*	山のはにみし
[in the capital,]	*tsuki naredo*	月なれと
yet now it comes from the waves	*nami yori idete*	波より出て
and into the waves it retires[457]	*nami ni koso ire*	

[457] Translation taken from McCullough (1985), p. 277. According to the late Prof. Tsumoto Nobuhiro 津本信博 (1940-2007) from Waseda University, who provided invaluable assistance with reading and understanding the *kyōka* poems, the fact that the moon emerges from the waves and sinks into them again at sunset strikes Tsurayuki as odd, because he is used to the moon rising from behind the mountains and setting again behind them, which is the usual view from Kyoto, being surrounded by mountains. Tsurayuki says earlier in the entry

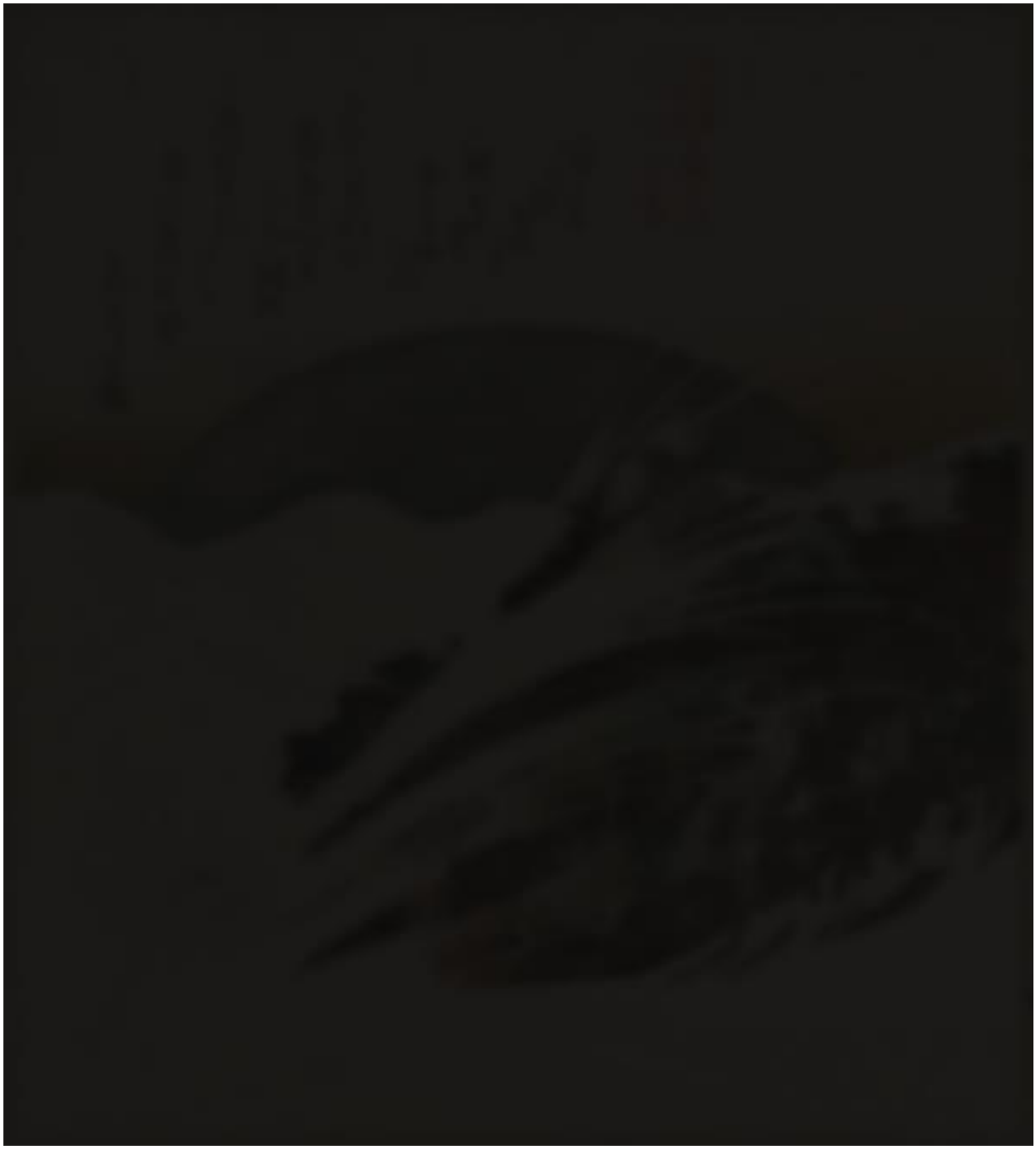

Fig. 21. Shunman, *Tosa nikki surimono* series, '*Moon and waves*', mid 1810s, coll. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. JP2067.

Perhaps the poets decided to omit the line 'in the capital' (*miyako nite* 都にて)[458] because they

that this is the view that Abe no Nakamaro (698-770) must have had when he tried to return from his journey to China, looking longingly in the direction of Japan on the same 20th day of the month.

[458] Kyoto, in Tsurayuki's time called Heiankyō, but often referred to as *miyako* 都, 'the capital'. This word was actually still in use in the early nineteenth century, despite Edo being the shogunal capital city at that time.

were themselves based in Edo. It is a somewhat strange decision, since in doing so, the poems' meter is lost. More prints in this series feature introductory quotes that omit portion of the original text. It seems to have been done for reasons of obsoleteness with regard to the design, though it is odd to see that omitting these lines even resulted in an incomplete poem, as is the case here. The illustration to this introduction and poem consists of a large moon that rises from - or sinks into - the waves. Meanwhile, the waves smash into a rock to the right of the image. The spray of water is lit up by the moonlight.[459] The only poem on this print is by Hisakataya:

When I look closely,	*mitekereba*	見てけれは
The spring returns like the waves,	*haru tachikaeru*	春立かへる
Pounding on the shore.	*uranami no*	うら波の
Between the flowering sprays	*hana no ma ni ma ni*	花のまにヽヽ
I smell the fragrant moonlight	*niou tsukikage*	匂ふ月かけ
- Hisakataya	- Hisakataya	- 久かた屋

The poem visually compares the repeated arrival of waves with the yearly arrival of spring, where the usual flowers are replaced by 'flowers' that are shaped by the sprays of water bashing on the rocks. The illustration shows a very large moon that lights up the blind-printed 'flowers' that spray from the rocks, making the image work very well with the poem. The expression '*ma ni ma ni*' means to 'go along with', or 'flow with (the waves)', and surfaces on three occasions elsewhere in the *Tosa nikki*. An alternative translation of the last three lines could therefore read 'the moonlight is fragrant like the flowers that top the waves'.[460] Apart from the same 'moon' theme and the skillful use of the aforementioned expression, this *kyōka* also displays a relation to day eighteen of the first month (two days earlier), when Tsurayuki's companions exchange poems comparing the splashing white waves to snow and flowers.

Shunman's visualization of Tsurayuki's journey proved to be the start of a new iconography;[461] both Gakutei and Hokkei illustrated *surimono* on the topic of *Tosa nikki* in later years. Gakutei's design is one *surimono* in a series *Honchōren monogatari jūban* 本町連物語十番 (*'Ten tales for the Honchō poetry group*'),

[459] This *surimono* is often encountered a Meiji period copied version. It is listed by Keyes (1985), in his overview of Meiji period re-issued *surimono*, p. 519, as a group A-copy; a relatively high-quality copy, printed from re-cut blocks for commercial purposes during the 1890s. This *surimono* from the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art is an original, confirms Keyes.

[460] *Kyōka*, just like *waka*, are constructed to contain a chute after the first three lines (5-7-5 syllables). In this poem, the word *uranami* from the third line connects to the word *hana* in the next to evoke the image of flowers of water on top of the waves, which is why I have chosen to give an example translation of the last three lines instead of the expected last two lines.

[461] I intentionally use the term 'new iconography', referring to the title of Carpenter's article in the Rietberg *surimono* exhibition catalog "Inventing new iconographies: Historicist and nativist motives in late-Edo *surimono*" (2008).

commissioned by the Honchōren around 1820 (fig. 22). This one *surimono* referring to *Tosa nikki* therefore takes a similar position in the series as Gosei's design; the series as a whole encompasses various works of classical literature, and *Tosa nikki* is just one of these. No wonder that both poem and illustration make the same recognizable reference to the opening line and general setting of the text. The illustration depicts three persons in Heian-period upper class clothing, seated on a boat. A man, governor Tsurayuki most likely, is about to write poetry on a *tanzaku*. To his left is a woman, likely the mother of Tsurayuki's deceased daughter, reading from another tanzaku. The illustration - intentionally or not - appears to answer the question of who is recording the events and the poetry during the journey. The illustration includes a child, likely the child that also composes poems in several entries in the diary. The poem in this *surimono*, by Matsunoya Hananari 松の屋花成 (n.d.[462]), also puns on the first line of the *Tosa nikki*, changing "*otoko mo sunari*" into "'*fune mo suwari*".[463] This suggests a rather widely understandable pun, comparable to that in the poem by Kiyosumi in the print designed by Hokuga/Gosei.

Riding smoothly	*tatami shiku*	畳しく波の上さへ
over waves that spread as level	*nami no ue sae*	長閑にて
as *tatami* matting	*nodoka nite*	船もすわりし
our boat almost seems seated	*fune mo suwari shi*	はるの海つら
upon the spring ocean's surface[464]	*haru no umizura*	
- Matsunoya Hananari	- Matsunoya Hananari	- 松の屋花成

[462] Not listed in KJJ.
[463] This phrase may in time perhaps be translated into 'The boat sits on the waves'. A copy of this print features in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 151.
[464] Translation by Alfred Haft, from the entry in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 151.

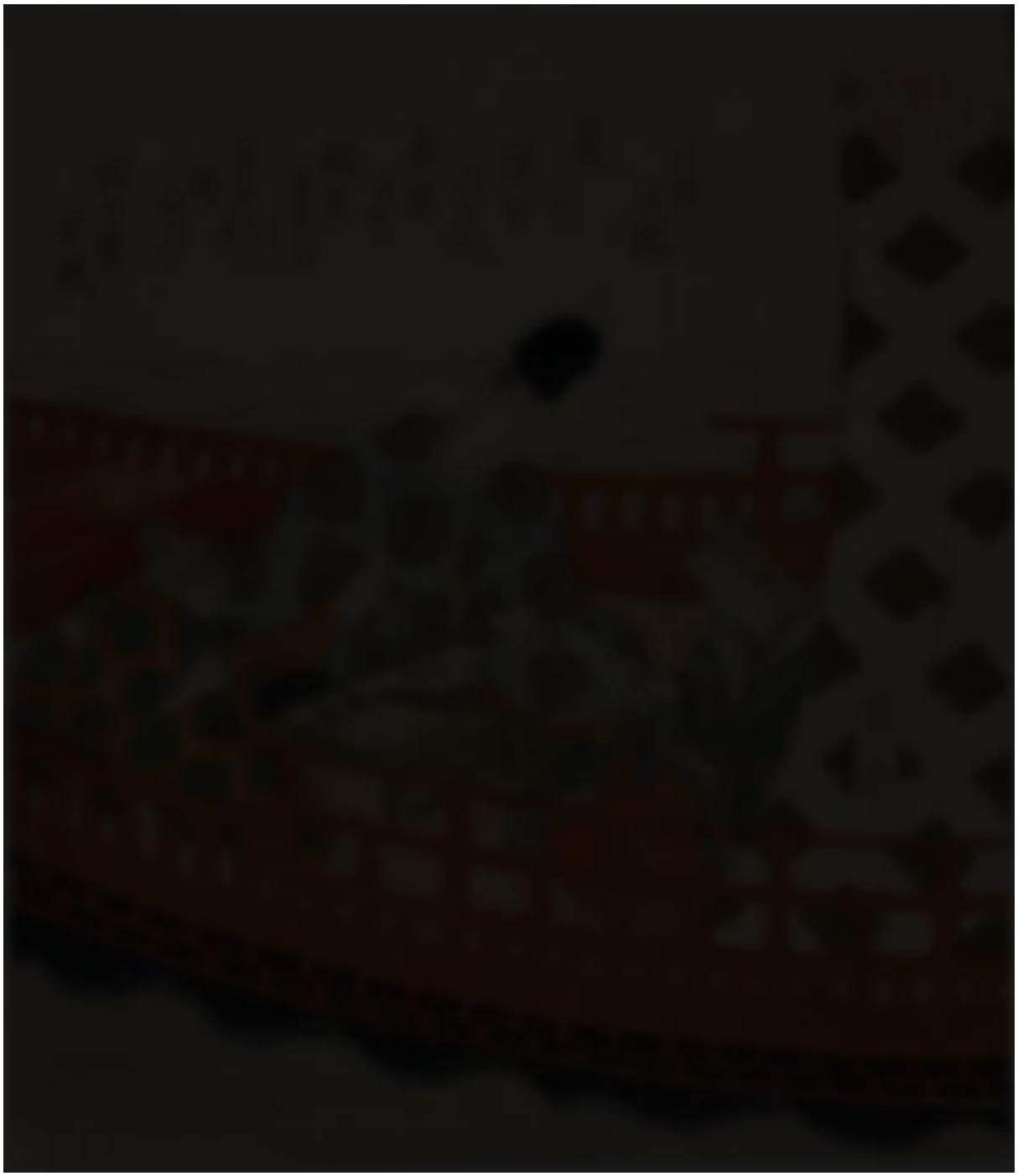

Fig. 22. Gakutei, *Tosa nikki*, c. 1820. Coll. Rietberg Museum, inv. no. 29.

Gakutei chose to illustrate a scene very similar to that in Shunman's design. Three figures in Heian period clothes sit on board a fine boat, engaged in the composition of poetry. Gakutei presents the boat from close-up, not even depicting the bow that is visible in Shunman's print. He thereby omits some of the secondary characters (the sailors) and emphasizes the three figures (the main characters in the diary) and their activities. Shunman's composition incorporated more elements of the landscape/seascape, and Gakutei zooms in to the action, one could say. There are, however, uncanny resemblances, for instance in the carpentry on the boat's railings, the position and shape of the auxiliary sail on the right hand side of

the composition, and even down to the shape of the calm, rippling waves (the 'spring ocean's surface on which the boat sits'). The resemblance between both compositions makes it difficult to imagine that Gakutei had not seen Shunman's design.

Hokkei also designed a *surimono* depicting a boat setting out to sea near Tosa. It is a single print, apparently not belonging in any series. The year of publication is not known, but the style, execution, and signature[465] indicate that it was created in the late 1820s or early 1830s - later at least, than Gakutei's design. Two poets feature on this print: one Shōgekkyo Chiyonobu 松月居千代延 (n.d.) and Gekkatei (n.d.). Gekkatei was also known as Kinuta Ototaka 砧音高 (which translates to 'loud noise from the fulling block') and a judge for the Yomogawa during the Bunsei era.[466] Both poems were clearly composed on the (pre-decided) topic of *unabara* 海原, the 'sea plain'[467], or open sea.

On the boat the day of the Rat is postponed as we pull the sea-pine's shoots from the waves of the field of sea at Tosa - Shōgekkyo Chiyonobu	*fune no uchi ni* *ne no hi wa zurashi* *umimatsu wo* *nami no hikiyuku* *tosa no unabara* - Shōgekkyo Chiyonobu	船のうちに 子日はすらし 海松を 浪の引 ゆく土佐の うなはら - 松月居千代延
The journey back to the capital in the shining moon of the twentieth day is far from the sea's fields at Tosa - Gekkatei	*teru tsuki no* *miyako wa koyoi* *hatsuka nite* *kaeriji tōki* *tosa no unabara* - Gekkatei	照月の都は 今宵 はつかにて 帰路 遠き土佐の海原 - 月下亭

[465] An overview of this development of the form of Hokkei's signature is presented by Forrer (1987), p. 35.
[466] KJJ, p. 33.
[467] As McCullough (1985), p. 277, translates it.

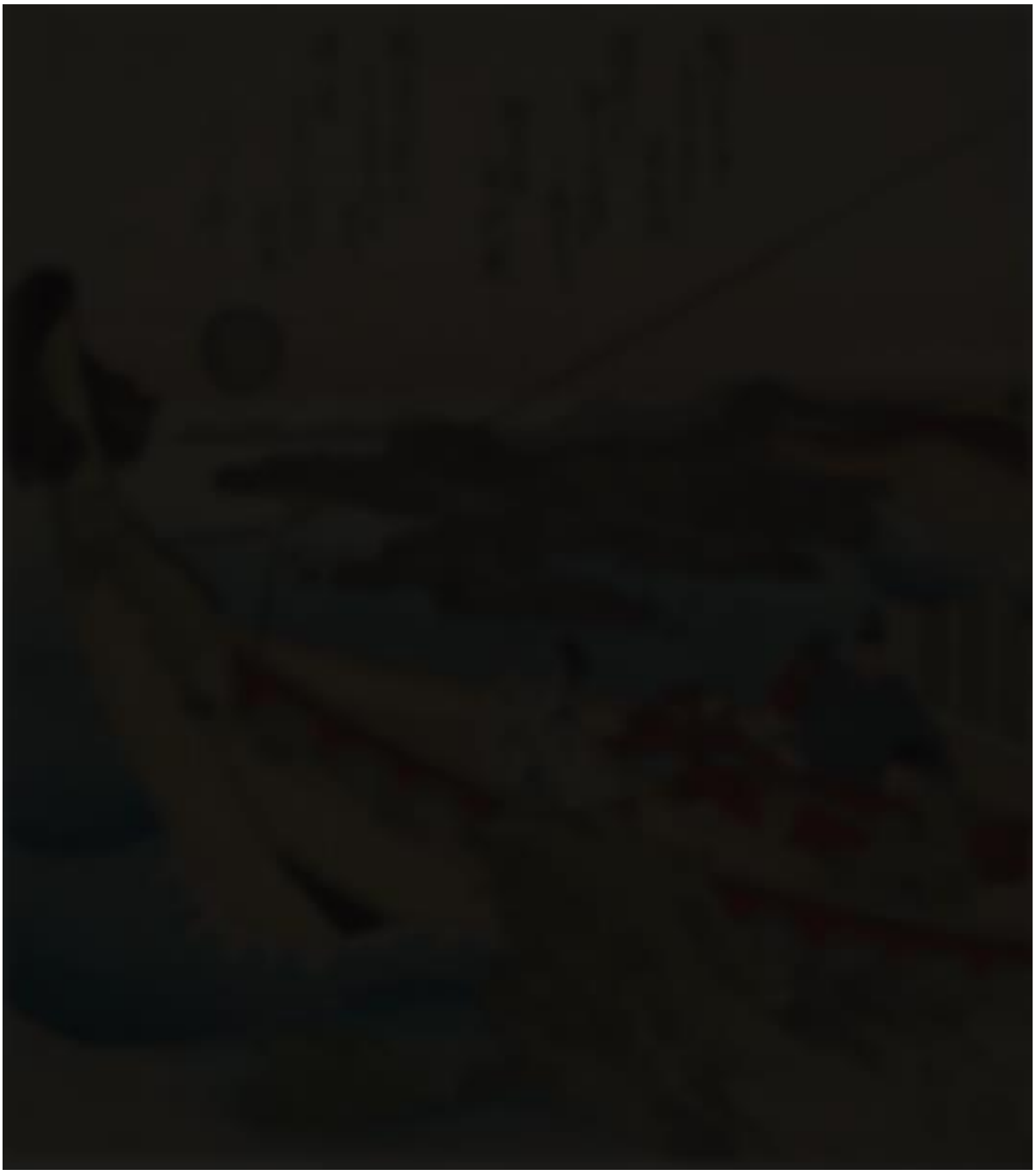

Fig. 23. Totoya Hokkei, '*Boat on the open sea at Tosa*', c. 1830, coll. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. JP1146.

Hokkei's illustration mimics that of both Shunman and Gakutei, conforming to the newly set iconography. Once again, the image is that of courtiers in fine Heian period clothing, seated on the front deck of the boat. No woman is depicted, but a child is present in this scene. Instead of the wooden railing this type of boat features an ornate roofed structure. A tightly strung rope attached to the bow diagonally cuts across the composition, apparently attached to the top of a mast further towards the stern, outside the view. The boat negotiates some wavy waters between rocky coastlines. In the distant red sky, a silver moon hovers above the horizon. The poem far left specifically mentions the 20th day, referring to

Tsurayuki's entry for the 20th day of the first month. Two poems form part of that entry. Part of the latter featured as the introductory phrase for Shunman's design of the large moon behind the waves. The former poem in Tsurayuki's entry starts with the phrase 'the blue open sea', *aounabara* 青海原, of which part served as topic word for the *kyōka* poems on this *surimono*. The name of the poet on the left here literally reads 'The pavilion beneath the moon', which makes it all the more appropriate that the design should incorporate a moon under which the scene spreads out. The poem on the right refers to the Day of the Rat and the traditional practice of pulling pine shoots. This topic was treated in the entry for day 29 of the first month in *Tosa nikki*, and featured in Shunman's design of the *awabi* diver and children with basket on the beach. The combined poems and illustration in this *surimono* designed by Hokkei thus refer to both textual and pictorial elements present in three separate prints in Shunman's series. The poems can be argued to allude to Tsurayuki's text only, yet the illustration clearly takes after the respective designs by Shunman and Gakutei.

Conclusions *Tosa nikki*

Poets and designers invented ways to visualize *Tosa nikki*, a classical text that had not received such treatment before. In the early nineteenth century *kyōka* world, when both Japanese and Chinese literary classics were regularly consulted for inspiration, the *Tosa nikki* was only made subject of a *surimono* series once. The enigmatic nature of the text and the fact that the text was somewhat unsuitable for adaptation into a *surimono* series are likely reasons for this. The *Tosa nikki* demands a thorough understanding in order to be able to produce *surimono* holding multiple allusions to its literary content. Despite the simple appearance of the series in comparison to later styles of *surimono* design, the combination of the poetry and illustrations indeed proves to display a profound knowledge of the *Tosa nikki*. Given the above reasons, the series as a whole will have been regarded as rather elitist in the eyes of the average *kyōka* enthusiast of the time.

Assuming that the people involved in creating the *Tosa nikki surimono* series strived to display their literary knowledge and test that of the receiving party, as appears to be the case with so many other *surimono*, one might wonder why it was chosen as a theme in the first place. For when allusions were made to concepts and ideas that were difficult to understand to anyone other than the club members themselves, the communication with likeminded poets from other clubs would have been fairly problematic. On the other hand, choosing a little covered literary work as the theme for a *surimono* series, not leaning on fixed iconography and/or imagery, may have provided an even greater challenge to both the designer and poets on the one hand, and the receiving party on the other. In this scenario, designer and poets would challenge themselves to manifest their literary knowledge and interpretive qualities, whereas the receiver was challenged to pick up on the literary allusions, relying on his or her understanding of the classical text.

Tosa nikki surimono, both the series by Shunman and in other *surimono* referring to *Tosa nikki*, are characterized by an overall positive and nostalgic atmosphere. Poets focused on elegant details in the

original text, related to nature, local customs or traditional festivities, rather than personal circumstance of the characters in the narrative. The gender issue of a man posing as a female narrator is only distantly alluded to in wordplay. The illustrations follow this approach, imagining figures of the Heian court elite enjoying a journey that offers them inspiration for the composition of elegant verses. The illustrations depict events, figures, and objects referred to by Tsurayuki, yet without the gloom present in the original. *Surimono* were, after all, celebratory productions and *kyōka* were, in principle, joyous in tone.

After the series designed by Shunman appeared, it became an example for later *surimono* designers to follow. *Surimono* by both Gakutei and Hokkei clearly show influences of one of Shunman's earlier designs. Perhaps this should not be a surprise. For when Japanese artists made illustrations to accompany to classical literature, they would usually refer back to pictorial traditions that already existed. In the case of *Tosa nikki*, that tradition started with Shunman. That is to say, Shunman was the first to create a set of illustrations to accompany certain scene from the classical text. Although *Tosa nikki* became part of the canon of Japanese literature, a strong pictorial tradition never developed. The iconography invented in the creation of the *surimono* seems to have influenced only later *surimono* on the same topic. This kind of direct influence from one *surimono* design to another occurs in more cases than *Tosa nikki* alone, as the next section will show.

5.3.2 *Tsurezuregusa surimono* series

This case study comprises three *surimono* series that will be treated in an integrated comparison. First, a brief description of the basic composition of introductory text and image of each series will be given. This is followed by an explanation of the exegetical tradition for *Tsurezuregusa* and the relation between the three *surimono* series and that tradition. Then, a comparison is made of designs for the same essays as taken up in different series, in terms of iconography and text-image relations. The results of this comparative study offers insights on the ways in which *kyōka* poets and *surimono* designers positioned themselves in relation to the classic *Tsurezuregusa*, as well as in relation to existing scholarship on this text.

Tsurezuregusa, for the Asakusagawa, by Shunman

The *Tsurezuregusa* series that Shunman designed for the Asakusagawa poetry club in 1811 is the earliest example of a large *surimono* series in *shikishiban*-format, numbering at least fourteen prints.[468] This is a clear indication of the size and the level of organization of the Asakusagawa *kyōka* group, as well as of the financial resources generated by its (many) members. The Asakusagawa *Tsurezuregusa* series will be represented here by three *surimono*: those that are based on the essays 9, 68, 72.[469] This selection is made in connection to the comparison with the two other series, that also contain prints based on essays 9 and 68 (Hokkei) and 72 (Gakutei). The other designs and poems will also be regarded in determining the general attributes of the series.

Each of the prints in this series features the stylized jar logo of the Asakusagawa, (hand-)stamped in red ink, containing the words *Asakusagawa / Tsurezuregusa / Shunman sei* 浅草側・つれゝゝ草・俊満製 ('Asakusagawa, *Tsurezuregusa*, produced by Shunman').[470] The logo is placed in the top right hand corner, in all but one design. To the left of the logo, a phrase from Tsurezuregusa is printed in black, preceded the number of the essay from which the phrase came. The phrases are only short segments of the essay, sometimes even segments of sentences in an essay. This is similar to the approach taken in the *Tosa nikki* series, for instance. The number of poems varies from one or two in most cases, to a maximum of four per print. The style of illustration has been described above; still lifes, plants, animals, and in two cases, a

[468] It must be noted that not all *surimono* in this series are of the shikishiban format. Three prints are of the *chūban* format, of the same height as the *shikishiban* 色紙版, yet one-and-a-half times its width. This format is attained by cutting a *ōbōsho* 大奉書 sheet - roughly 42 x 57 cm - only once vertically and once horizontally (instead of twice vertically to attain six *shikishiban* sheets). Shunman uses this format more often for *surimono* that carry larger numbers of poems. Cf. *Ise monogatari surimono* series. These wider *surimono* seem to have a special importance, since they often feature the more important poets, and - in the *Tsurezuregusa* series - an indication of the year they came out is printed on two of them.

[469] The word essay is used here for the obvious reason that the title Tsurezuregusa is commonly translated to *Essays in Idleness*. Since the Western term 'essay' does not always apply very well to the at times very short texts, other words have been adopted too. Chance (1997) for instance, uses the word section {p. xxi}. The essays featured in this series are nos. 9, 10, 19, 34, 54, 66, 68, 72, 139, 158, 191, 235, 237, and 238 - although more may surface in due time.

[470] The contents of the emblem are often hard to read, yet the Tsurezuregusa series emblem can be distinguished from the similar emblems of the later *Ise monogatari* and *Isegoyomi* series, for the 'jars' on these have a double outline throughout.

young woman is portrayed. The majority of prints feature subdued and often gradient coloring, complemented by frequent use of blind printing, as well as sparse application of metallic pigments. The illustrated objects and creatures are depicted without background, which leaves ample space for the poems - some *surimono* designs of the 1820, by Gakutei for instance, dictate the position and spacing of poems rather strictly in comparison.

***Tsurezuregusa*, for the Yomogawa, by Gakutei**

Six years after Shunman, for the year 1817, Gakutei Sadaoka also designed a series of *Tsurezuregusa surimono*. Gakutei still stood at the beginning of his *surimono*-designing career. It is difficult to estimate the total number of designs in this series, yet thus far, only three have surfaced in this research. These are essays no. 16, 72, and 175. The prints in Gakutei's series feature the red fan-shaped Yomogawa logo, in which is written '*Tsurezuregusa* つれゝゝ草'. Underneath the logo, a short phrase from a *Tsurezuregusa* essays is placed in each print, though without giving the essay number. Two major *kyōka* masters of the day, Yomo Utagaki Magao and Shinratei Manzō II feature in the series, although the latter's following seems to be represented best. It deserves mention that Manzō II is the leader of the Manjiren that commissioned the Tsurezuregusa *surimono* series from Hokkei in c. 1830. Gakutei's designs are similar to those of Shunman in the sense that still lifes and human figures are presented without background illustrations. The objects and figures depicted refer to both the introductory phrases and the contents of the poems.

***Tsurezuregusa*, for the Manjiren, by Hokkei**

Hokkei takes a different approach in his designs for the *Tsurezuregusa* series commissioned by the Manjiren around 1830. Among the compositions are several illustrations with full backgrounds, and the illustrations feature relatively many human figures in comparison to the other two series. The series' emblem is made up of a two booklets; one is depicted folded open to reveal text, the other is closed and lies on top of the right hand page of the open booklet. The closed booklet has a light blue cover that carries a *daisen* on which the title *Tsurezuregusa* is written. For essay number 9, the lowest number in the series just as we have seen in the series designed by Shunman, the title is written entirely in characters: *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草. In the other designs, this is written as *Tsurezuregusa* つれゝゝ艸.[471] The blue cover features two Manjiren logos in white (unprinted paper). The open page that remains visible next to the booklet cover give the excerpt from *Tsurezuregusa*. Some of these quotes are lengthy in comparison to those found in the other series. As in the series designed by Gakutei, essay numbers are not given. The six designs known feature one, two or three poems. The style of the designs varies per design; some designs feature a style that corresponds to the *ukiyoe* of the day, while other designs breathe an atmosphere of

[471] This is further indication that essay number 9 is the first in the series, since *daisen* on actual books of the era also often feature titles written completely in characters in a neat font on the first volume, whereas the remainder of the volumes feature the title in more cursive script on the *daisen*.

courtly elegance that typifies the other two series. Most designs feature a branch of plum blossom or adonis plant to signify spring. Metallic pigments are used with restraint.

Spelling of introductory phrases and the use of exegetical sources

The three *Tsurezuregusa* series incorporate phrases from *Tsurezuregusa* differently. Only the series by Shunman for the Asakusagawa gives the essay numbers, while the two later series do not. It appears that at least the commissioners of the latter two series considered the contents of *Tsurezuregusa* sufficiently known among the intended receivers of the *surimono* that there was no need to include the essay numbers. What is more striking, however, is the fact that the citations from *Tsurezuregusa* for the same essay differ between series. Some citations differ to such an extent from what is generally considered to be the 'correct' spelling, that it appears that the makers of these *surimono* took liberties not only with regard to style of illustration and iconography, but also with the text itself.

This leads to the matter of access to or availability of exegetical texts for *Tsurezuregusa*. The earliest commentary is (*Tsurezuregusa*) *Jumyōin shō* （徒然草）寿命院抄 ('(Tsurezuregusa) *summarized by Jumyōin*').[472] The manuscript was completed in or before 1601 and published - without the original text - in 1604 by the physician Hata Sōha 秦宗巴 (1550-1607, known by his Buddhist name as Jumyōin).[473] Another influential commentary was *Nozuchi* 野槌 (the title literally translates as '*Field hammer*'), of 1621 (first published in 1667), by Hayashi Razan, who "tried to fortify Kenkō as a hero for the times.".[474] Based on *Jumyōin* and *Nozuchi*, Aoki Sōko 青木宗胡 (n.d.) wrote the commentary *Tettsui* 鉄槌 ('*Iron hammer*', first published in 1649), which according to Chance, "would become the single most widely distributed book of annotations" [on *Tsurezuregusa*].[475] Chance notes that the reason for this wide distribution was that it was intended for lecturing.[476] This, in turn, is important for canon formation, the theme of Chance's article. Kitamura Kigin - on whose *Tosa nikki* commentary was relied for the *Tosa nikki surimono* series - delivered *Tsurezuregusa mondanshō* 徒然草文段抄 ('Tsurezuregusa *in paragraphs*'[477]), first published in 1667, which Chance considers "a plateau *Tsurezuregusa* studies. He culled the work of his predecessors of all persuasions and expended his effort dividing the text in the best possible way.".[478] The annotated and (partly) illustrated text *Tsurezuregusa eiri* by Sanboku Injin, first published in 1690, must also have been available to *kyōka* poets around the time the various *Tsurezuregusa surimono* series were commissioned since it was reprinted, albeit in Osaka, in 1800, 1812, 1825, and 1828.

In the series by Shunman, parts of the sentences are missing the introductory phrases; not just at

[472] See also Chance (1997), p. 42.
[473] Chance (1997), p. 42.
[474] Chance (1997), p. 43.
[475] Chance (1997), pp. 43-44.
[476] Chance (1997), p. 43.
[477] Title from Chance (1997), p. 49.
[478] Chance (1997), p. 49.

the beginning or the end of the quote, parts in the middle of sentences are frequently omitted as well. Furthermore, many of the quotes have even become incomplete grammatically due to omissions. The quotes in the series designed by Gakutei, similarly, are inconsistent with the text editions consulted. Parts of sentences are missing, words have been reversed. The quotes in the prints in the series designed by Hokkei are more consistent with standard texts, yet on occasion omit words as well. These quotes, again, are often unfinished sentences, leaving the remainder to be filled in in the mind of the reader. None of the introductory quotes could be matched to a specific text edition, not Razan's *Nozuchi*, not Kigin's *Tsurezuregusa Mondanshō*, not Aoki Sōko's *Tettsui*, nor to the text in the illustrated editions - Sanboku Injin's *Tsurezuregusa eiri* and Sukenobu's *Ehon Tsurezuregusa*.

The well-known commentaries and exegetical texts aside, there is an array of scholarship on *Tsurezuregusa* that may have circulated in manuscript. Two examples are worth mentioning in connection to *kyōka* networks. First, there is evidence that Rokujuen wrote an exegetical work on *Tsurezuregusa*, for it is mentioned in adverts in a commercial *kyōka* book published by Kadomaruya Jinsuke in 1812.[479] It is listed as *Tsurezuregusa shinchū* 徒然草新註 ('*New annotation of Tsurezuregusa*'), in three volumes. Unfortunately, no copies of this work seem to survive. Second, Kishimoto Yuzuru also appears to have written an exegetical work on *Tsurezuregusa*, as I have mentioned in the section on Kubo Shunman's *kokugaku* connections. Both texts may have been available to *kyōka* poets involved in *surimono* series on *Tsurezuregusa*, although it is not clear from which year either work may have circulated.

Another candidate that Shunman and/or Asakusagawa members may have been familiar with, is an exegetical text on *Tsurezuregusa* by Confucianist scholar Dazai Shundai 太宰春台 (1680-1747). According the database of early Japanese books hosted by the National Institute for Japanese Literature, Shundai's text is mentioned in *Kinsei kangakusha chojutsu mokuroku taisei* 近世漢学者著述目録大成 ('*Grand catalogue of scholars in Chinese studies of the early modern period*'). Although no date is mentioned, this manuscript was certainly written less than a century before Shunman's *surimono* series was issued. Unfortunately, Shundai's scholarship on *Tsurezuregusa* has not survived. However, another of Shundai's writings is referred to in Shunman's illustration for 238th essay of the *Tsurezuregusa*. The design shows two book cases, a bookmarker, and a separate fascicle in the foreground. This fascicle carries a *daisen* reading *Rongo kokun* 論語古訓, the title of a ten-volume treatise by Shundai, which literally translates as '*Ancient Instruction in the Confucian Analects*'. It was first published in Genbun 4 (1739), and was reprinted in Kansei 4 (1792). In order to fully understand the various quotes from the *Analects* within *Tsurezuregusa*, and this one in particular, Shunman and the Asakusagawa members apparently turned to Shundai for further explanation.

The inconsistencies in the introductory quotes in each of the three *Tsurezuregusa surimono* series are

[479] *Mandai kyōkashū* 万代狂歌集 ('*Collection of kyōka of ten-thousand years*'), selected by Rokujuen. Copy investigated kept in Otsuma Women's University, inv. no. 911.19 Ma 433-1, vol. 4.

of such a nature that they should be regarded as the result of creative handling of the text, rather than the existence of a variant text edition.[480] Contrary to the *Tosa nikki* series, where the spelling of the introductory quotes pointed to the text edition by Kitamura Kigin, a single text that was used as reference for *Tsurezuregusa* cannot be isolated. The most likely explanation is that familiarity with *Tsurezuregusa* was of such an extent that poets did not think it inappropriate to make alterations on their own accord. In a sense, this underlines the degree of canonization of *Tsurezuregusa* as a literary classic at the time. Clearly, the abbreviated and incomplete quotes served their purpose of bringing the contents of particular essays to mind without problem. In the poems, allusions were made to other parts of the essays from which quotes were taken, expecting readers and viewers to comprehend the implied connections. This would not be possible without a well-established common knowledge of the text. It is this apparent foundation of knowledge of *Tsurezuregusa* in *kyōka* circles that enabled the producers of the *surimono* to take such liberties with the text.

Comparison of prints from all three series with regard to text and image

Essay number 9: Hair of a woman

Essay number nine of the *Tsurezuregusa* is the first essay treated in the series. The print is of the one-and-a-half *shikishiban* format (horizontally), and features four poems of which one is by group leader Sensōan. This print also carries an indication of the year it was issued: '*hitsuji haru* 未春', 'Goat, spring' (1811). The essay deals with the attractiveness of a woman's hair (fig. 24). The design by Shunman shows a woman with a rather elaborate hairdo, a mix of medieval and modern styles, sitting on a reclining white elephant. She is wearing a multi-layered kimono such as those worn in the days of Kenkō, decorated with a dragon.[481] The first lines of *Tsurezuregusa*'s ninth essay are quoted:

Essay no. nine	*kyūdan*	九段
Although for a woman,	*onna wa kami no medeta*	女は髪のめてた
the thing that catch people's eyes most	*karan koso hito no*	からん社人の
is beautiful hair,[482]	*metatsubeka*[*n*]*mere*	めたつべかゝめれ

The essay goes on to describe the force of love between men and women, which starts with the male attraction to beautiful hair. According to Kenkō, it is said "that even an elephant can be fastened securely

[480] This suggestion has been forwarded by Haft in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 147, for the print on essay number 16 in the series by Gakutei. See also fig. 32 in the next section.
[481] This could lead one to incorrectly expect this *surimono* was designed for a year of the dragon. Bearing in mind Shunman's development of style and the fact that he died in 1820, this print - and therefore the whole series - is clearly from Bunka 8, 1811.
[482] The second part of the sentence continues to explain that only by the words spoken by this woman, her character will be revealed.

with a rope plaited from the strands of a woman's hair […]"[483] In other words, no one is saved from the temptation.

As for the illustration to the left of the introductory phrase, Shunman takes the expression rather literally, depicting a woman with beautiful hair sitting on an elephant that appears as a rather docile and subdued creature. With the full ninth essay in mind, one will notice the actual 'rope plaited from the strands of a woman's hair' that holds the elephant down. Yet, the composition mainly consists of the colorful kimono and ditto elephant's saddle, and the rope does not stand out at all to someone who is not familiar with the essay. The overall composition of a lady sitting on an elephant like this fits into the well-established Edo period pictorial tradition in which the Bodhisattva of Universal Virtue, Fugen Bosatsu 普賢菩薩 (Sanskrit: Samantabhadra), disguised as a courtesan, is depicted sitting 'sidesaddle' on a white elephant, usually reading a text scroll.[484] Shunman's design takes after this popular depiction, leaving out the text scroll, and adding the rope of hair around the elephant's neck.

The first three poets, Mayu no Itoyori 眉糸頼, Chikuyōtei Morikazu 竹葉亭守数, and Kogotei Fumiyori 壺五亭文頼, are little known members of the Asakusagawa. The honorary far left position is taken by Sensōan Ichindo 浅草庵市人 (1755-1821[485]), as leader of the Asakusagawa listed only by his *gō* Sensōan. His poem reads:

Is that the warbler	*ito kasu ni*	糸かすに
flying into the branches?	*kuru uguisu ya*	来る鶯や
While it sings today	*naku uchi ni*	鳴うちに
the green willow	*kyō nuu hodo ha*	けふ縫ほとは
weaves it long strands together	*nobiru aoyagi*	のひる青柳
- Sensōan	- Sensōan	浅草庵

Sensōan focuses on the irresistibility of women that the priest Kenkō warns his readers against. He uses a rather common metaphor in his poem; gracious women are often compared to willows.[486] The 'green willow', the subject of all four poems on this print, signifies both spring and a young woman. The swaying of the tree in the spring wind is supposed to resemble swaying hips, whereas the long branches

[483] Keene (1967). Keene notes that this expression is of Buddhist origin, yet the source is unknown.
[484] See McKee (2006), pp. 128-9, for explanation and the reproduction of a later *surimono* by Hokkei that takes the Nō play as a subject.
[485] According to Suga (1936 [1]), p. 320, Asakusaan died on the 25th day of the 12th month of Bunsei 3, which corresponds with early January 1821.
[486] Asakusaan clearly liked the metaphor. He had selected the poems for a *kyōkabon* with the title *Yanagi no ito* 柳の糸 ('*Strands of the Willow*'), which was published in Kansei 9 (1797). He also contributed a poem to an ink painting on silk by Shunman of sometime around 1810, kept in the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, The Netherlands (Inv. no. RV-6044-1). In fact, seven poems on the theme of *aoyagi* 青柳 (green -spring- willow) are placed in between the willow's strands. The other poets are Shakuyakutei Nagane, Yomo Utagaki Magao, Rokujuen, Sandara Hōshi, Shokusanjin and Shunman himself.

are symbolic for long hair. Sensōan's poem alludes to the image of a women's hair being plaited into a rope in the essay in *Tsurezuregusa* by evoking the image of strands of the willow being woven together. In this case, it is not the elephant that is held down, it is the warbler that becomes trapped.

When we compare this to the *Tsurezuregusa* picture book that was illustrated by Nishikawa Sukenobu, first published in Genbun 5 (1740), it becomes clear that the mode of illustration in this book cannot have had a significant influence on Shunman. Sukenobu presents a fairly straightforward visualization of the text for this same essay. The illustration shows a couple of *geisha* strolling through the rain. They gaze into a house where one young woman is assisting another in dressing her hair. Although the attractive power of the woman's hair is clearly evoked in this image, there is no man - supposed by Keene to be the one who is attracted - depicted. On the other hand, the original text literally states that the hair attracts a *person's* eye, and it seems that Sukenobu interprets this to mean other women. Only portions of the text have been selected to accompany the illustrations. Furigana make the text easier to read for those less familiar with *kanji*. Clearly, this book was published with the intention of making the *Tsurezuregusa* available and understandable to a wider audience. In this respect, the objective of Sukenobu's book is quite the opposite to that of Shunman's *surimono* series, which has every aspect of a publication for a select audience. Given the nature of a book publication, with the possibilities of 'mass production', as opposed to the small scale production of *surimono* - with the added objective of entertaining the reader/viewer while showing off erudition - it is no wonder that the illustrations are of a different nature as well. Nevertheless, Japanese artists - very generally speaking - often relied on copying from earlier works. Shunman may have been familiar with Sukenobu's book, but relied on his own imagination for the design of this *surimono*.

Fig. 24. Shunman, *Tsurezuregusa*, *Essay no. 9*, 1811, coll. unknown.
Fig. 25. Hokkei, *Tsurezuregusa*, (Essay no. 9), c.1830, coll. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. no. 11.25452.

Hokkei takes a different approach. His illustration for the same essay does not convey an

imaginary, courtly atmosphere, but rather shows a young woman in current fashionable kimono, standing with a mirror in her left hand and adjusting her hair with her right. Another young woman is seen kneeling on the veranda just outside the room where first women is standing. Her figure is obscured by sliding paper doors, yet the shadow cast on these doors by the red sun on the horizon shows her playing with a small ball. An adonis plant on the floor refers to the spring season. The illustration echoes the image of adjusting one's hair that is the theme of the single poem. The poem uses the metaphor of the strands of a green willow for a woman's hair, similarly to the poems on the print by Shunman. Again, however, the willow itself is not represented in the illustration.

The poem[487] reads:

Combed flat and pins adjusted	*haru kaze ni*	はる風に
by the spring breeze	*kushi kezurasete*	くしけつらせて
a fine coiffure	*kamikatachi*	髪かたち
is shaped from the strands	*medetaku nabiku*	めてたくなひく
of the green willow	*aoyagi no eda*	青柳の枝
- Shinsetsutei, from Fujisawa in Sagami	- Shinsetsutei, from Fujisawa in Sagami	相藤沢 森節亭

Essay number 68: Armor and daikon

This short essay in *Tsurezuregusa* tells the marvelous story of a man in Tsukushi 筑紫 (the old name for the island of Kyūshū 九州), who ate two grilled daikon radishes, *daikon* 大根, each day because he believed they kept him healthy. They do so in an unexpected way, since when he is about to be defeated in battle, he is saved by two fierce soldiers previously unknown to him. He asks them who they are, and they state that they are the two daikon he ate every day, upon which they disappear.

[487] The introductory phrase is almost identical to that in Shunman's print - the only difference being the absence of the small ン in *beka[n]mere* - and is omitted here.

Fig. 26. Essay no. 68 in *Tsurezuregusa eiri* つれづれ草 絵入, Sanboku Injin, 1812 edition, coll. Waseda University Library, inv. no. 文庫30 E0106.

The story served as inspiration for a print in the series by Shunman and one in the series by Hokkei. The illustration by Shunman depicts one daikon and one suit of armor, set up on its storage chest. This is another example of a 'new iconography' being invented for this literary classic. Sanboku Injin did illustrate the scene, depicting both armor and daikon in the composition. That illustration, however, is an action scene, in which the two warriors are depicted with daikon on their backs, as if some sort of metamorphosis is taking place - see fig. 26. Nishikawa Sukenobu did not illustrate this particular scene in his *Ehon Tsurezuregusa*. The image of daikon and armor representing essay number 68 was reused by Hokkei for his design. A comparison of figs. 27 and 28 gives the strong impression that Hokkei either pays homage to Shunman's design, or hardly conceals the fact that he all but copied the composition (though mirrored). Considering the fact that Shunman used so much precision and subtlety in his illustration for the ninth essay, it is noteworthy that only one daikon and one suit of armor are depicted, while Kenkō explicitly mentions two daikon and two soldiers. Perhaps he decided to draw only one of each to make the composition more powerful. Two smaller roots are laying in the foreground, and perhaps these are a hint to the two daikon and two soldiers that feature in the essay.

The introductory phrase in the print by Shunman is an abbreviated quote that leaves out the mention of two grilled daikon from the original text:

Essay no. 68	*Rokujūhachidan*	六十八段
He ate daikon every morning	*tsuchiōne*[488] *wo*	土おほねを
for many years.	*asagoto ni*	朝ことに
	kuikeru ni	くひけるに
	toshi hisashiku	とし久しく
	narinu	なりぬ

The poem provides no further explanation:

I guess the divers of Nagahama too	*Nagahama no*	長濱の
Make their fingers red	*ama mo yukima ni*	蜑も雪間に
Plucking the	*yubi no hara*	指のはら
Lakeside weeds	*akaku nashite ya*	あかくなしてや
From between the snowy patches	*isona tsumuran*	磯菜つむらん
- Koseirō Shigekado	*- Koseirō Shigekado*	壺星楼 繁門

There is not a single reference to the 68th essay of the *Tsurezuregusa* in sight in this poem. The female divers, who gather seaweed for a living, are starting their work again when the snow of winter slowly melts away, symbolizing the arrival of spring. The word *ama* itself is also a seasonal word used in poems on the theme of spring. It would almost seem that Shigekado contributed a poem on the theme of spring to the project, oblivious of the subject chosen for the series. This is particularly odd since Shigekado was a son of Sensōan, leader of the commissioning poetry group. The poem does contain words that could be connected other essays of *Tsurezuregusa* either. This is a typical case where it may be that a certain reference is overlooked that would have been clear to fellow poets with a profound knowledge of literature.

[488] *Tsuchiōne* 土大根 (‘large ground-root’) is the old name for *daikon* 大根 (‘large root’). Apparently, mentioning the fact that they grow in the ground came to be considered obsolete over the centuries, causing the first character to be omitted.

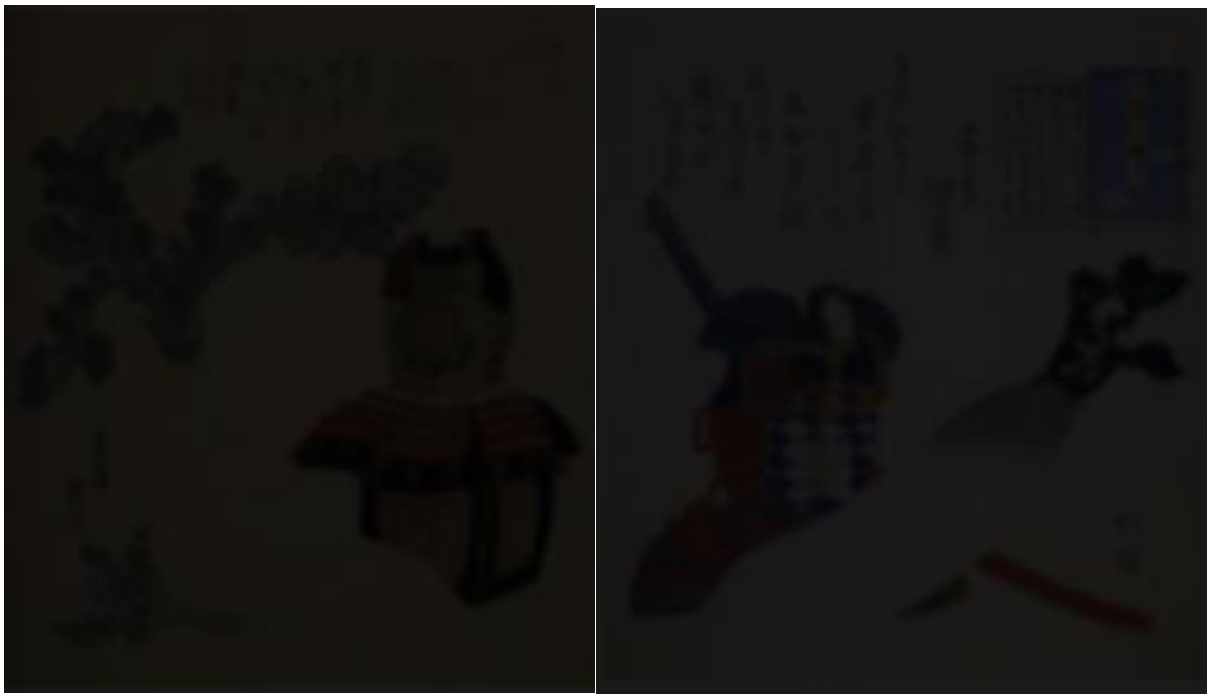

Fig. 27. (left) Shunman, *Tsurezuregusa, Essay no. 68*, 1811, coll. Chiba City Museum of Art (no inv. no.).
Fig. 28. (right) Hokkei, *Tsurezuregusa*, (Essay no. 68), c. 1830, coll. Schoff (no inv. no.).

The print on the same essay form the series by Hokkei is actually much more straightforward and effective in its combination of text and image. The introductory phrase is based on the same lines in *Tsurezuregusa*, although the quote is slightly longer than that in Shunman's print. The quote is actually the first part of the sentence from which the print by Shunman quoted the second part. The quote in the print by Hokkei conforms to the now standard spelling, yet stops mid-sentence; the latter part of the sentence that explains that the commander ate two grilled daikon every day, is omitted - as is the essay number:

In Tsukushi lived some or other commander, and he believed that daikon were a cure-all	*Tsukushi ni nanigashi no* *ōryōshi nado iū* *yō naru mono no arikeru ga* *tsuchiōne o yorozu ni imi* *jiki kusuri tote*	筑紫に何かしの 押領使なといふ やうなるもののありけるか 土おほねを萬にいみ しきくすりとて

The poem by Jushitsu Morozane 寿室諸実 (n.d.) makes a pun on the word *futamata* 二股, which means 'split, forked' in the case of daikon. Finding a daikon that is forked is considered good fortune and in Japanese art, Daikoku 大黒, one of the seven gods of luck, is often depicted carrying a forked daikon on his shoulders, one 'leg' on each side of his head. When applicable to warriors, however, *futamata*

pertains to split loyalty.[489] The 'daikon warriors' show remarkable loyalty, as is referred to in the poem. Additionally, the poem makes a clever pun with the word *gusoku* 具足, armor, the particles *ni zo* にぞ ('in' and emphasis), and the verb *shiru* しる ('to know' or to 'occupy', among a variety of meanings - written in *kana* here to allow for other readings). *Gusokuni* 具足煮 is the name of a traditional dish of lobster boiled in its own 'armor' and *ni zo shiru* sounds much like *misoshiru* 味噌汁, miso soup. Both dishes are common to include daikon.[490]

The bravery of the warrior	*Kyō hiraku*	けふひらく
is undivided	*gusoku ni zo shiru*	具足にそしる
like the daikon	*tsuchiōne*	土おほね
found in the armor	*futamata naranu*	ふたまたならぬ
that I opened this morning	*bushi no isaoi*	武士のいさをい
- Jushitsu Morozane	- Jushitsu Morozane	寿室諸実

Essay number 72: Books on a book cart

Essay number 72 is present in the series designed by Shunman and that designed by Gakutei. That essay gives several examples of abundance as a sign of being unsophisticated, while presenting the example of an abundance of books on a book cart and dust on a dust heap as permissible. Books, *fumi* 文, applies to both codices and books in (horizontal) scroll format, and both are present in both illustrations.[491] Similarly to Hokkei and his interpretation of essay number 68, it seems that Gakutei relied on Shunman's earlier design for his composition. The choice for the depiction of a book cart is in itself not surprising, not in the least because this traditional object is associated with erudition, scholarship, and classical culture. The difference between both depictions is telling, however, since the latter design by Gakutei corresponds more directly to the *Tsurezuregusa* essay; Shunman's design shows a luxurious book cart, filled with a fair number of books, on which an Adonis flower in a pot is placed. Gakutei's design, on the other hand, visualizes the abundance discussed in the essay more overtly. The book cart he drew is overflowing with (opened) books and scrolls. They are so numerous that they are piled up on top of the cart and on the floor around it. Cleverly, Gakutei places an opened illustrated scroll on top of the cart, which offers a canvas to depict motives from the poems; in this case a warbler sitting on a plum branch at

[489] As explained in Mirviss and Carpenter (2000), pp. 100-101, and in McKee (2006), pp. 96-97, where this same print is discussed. The term in that case is *futamata bushi* 二股武士, which is also referred to in the poem.
[490] McKee (2006), p. 97, mentions *gusokuni* and *shiru* 汁, soup, separately, where I think that the four characters are intended to be linked together. McKee explains yet another reference to warrior culture: *Gusokubiraki* 具足開き, litt. 'opening the armor' is the name of a samurai family tradition of splitting a *mochi* 餅 rice cake that had been placed before an armor on display on the eleventh day of the New Year.
[491] Other meanings traditionally include 'letters' written for communication and (Chinese) 'scholarship'.

sunrise on the first day of the year and a branch of a pine tree.

The introductory phrase in the print by Shunman reads:

Essay no. 72	*Nanajūnidan*	七十二段
Things that are not	*ōkute*	おほくて
painful to the eyes	*migurushi*	みくるし
when they are plentiful,	*karanu ha*	からぬは
are books on a book cart;	*fuguruma no*	文車の
dust on a dust heap	*fumi chiri*	ふみちり
	zuka no chiri	つかのちり

The poem reads:

Abundance is a joy	*takusan ni kaoru ha*	沢山にかほるは
when it concerns the plum fragrance	*ureshi*	嬉し
carried by the spring breeze	*fuguruma no fumi konomu*	文車の文好む
that favors the books	*ume no*	梅の
on the book cart[492]	*kayou harukaze*[493]	通ふ春風

[492] The poem, unusually, is unsigned. The examination of this design could only be carried out based on a reproduction in Ostier et al., (1978). The awkward ratio between height and width suggests that the print may have been trimmed, and perhaps the poet's name was cut off. The calligraphy in this print does not match that in the other prints in this series, which invites the thought that this was a later edition in which the poem was replaced. The contents, however, match the subject and the essay, which suggests that the poem is original. The discussion of the text and image is carried out under that premise.

[493] Unless there is an error in my transliteration, the poem consists of 32 syllables, one too many. This is known as *jiamari* 字余り, 'too many syllables'.

Fig. 29. (left) Shunman, *Tsurezuregusa, Essay no. 72*, 1811, reproduced in Ostier et al., (1978), pl. 14.
Fig. 30. (right) Gakutei, *Tsurezuregusa*, (Essay no. 72), 1817, from Ostier et al., (1978), pl. 16.

The print designed by Gakutei carries a freely adapted introductory phrase that is shortened to the essence:

Good	*okute*	おほくて
when they are many	*yoki ha*	よきは
books on a book cart	*fuguruma no fumi*	文車のふみ

Three poems feature on Gakutei's version. The first two poems make general references to spring and do not mention the book cart. The poem on the left is by Shōzantei Okunari, a judge for the Yomogawa.[494] It reads:

Pulling out books	*fuguruma no*	文車の
from the book cart,	*fumi hikidashite*	ふみ引出して
but then again, this is	*kore wa mata*	これは又
genuinely interesting:	*jitsu ni omoshiroki*	しつにおもしろき
the song of the warbler	*uguisu no uta*[495]	鶯の歌
- Shōzantei Okunari	- Shōzantei Okunari	- 松山亭奥成

The poem is echoed well in the illustration; the poem by Shōzantei evokes the image of someone

[494] He features on two *surimono* by Tōshū with Yomo Utagaki Magao in the honorary position. See Mirviss and Carpenter (1995), nos. 280 and 282. The circle mark above his name indicates he is a judge. The other two poets have names that start with the same character for 'pine', 松 *matsu*/*shō*, as the name Shōzantei, indicating that they were his pupils.
[495] As in the poem on the 'book cart *surimono*' by Shunman, the poem consists of 32 syllables, one too many.

pulling out books looking for something interesting, but being drawn rather to the song of the warbler that sings in spring. In Gakutei's illustration, however, the warbler appears not from nature but from the books and scrolls that are pulled out of the book cart. Like the poem on Shunman's print, this poem has a syllable too many. It is uncommon to find too many syllables in *kyōka* - it would cost points in a competition - yet here, the same flaw is encountered twice. There is a possibility that this was done on purpose in reflection of the theme of abundance treated in the essay in *Tsurezuregusa*.

Conclusions *Tsurezuregusa* case study

The contents of the three *Tsurezuregusa surimono* series reveal that *kyōka* poets and designers alike felt sufficiently comfortable in their knowledge of this classic text that they saw opportunities for adaptations that suited their own tastes. The approach to both text and image reveals a sense of freedom in selecting certain concepts and atmospheres from the original text and applying textual *kyōka* wit and printed *surimono* elegance to it. The original text is not mocked or parodied, nor is it treated with strict veneration. The investigation of the introductory phrases has shown that poets did not rely on a single text edition; they felt free to select and adapt phrases to suit their purpose. The illustrations reveal a similar tendency with regard to pictorial tradition. What little pictorial tradition was in place for *Tsurezuregusa* was ignored by each of the designers. Rather, the first pictorialization by Shunman served as an example and inspiration for the later series designed by Gakutei and Hokkei.

The *Tsurezuregusa surimono* series each show off erudition and a taste for a classical past, and do not specifically engage in exegetical debate, favoring one scholar over another. What surfaces most clearly is a general nostalgic taste for Japan's court culture. This is not to say that references to Chinese classics in *Tsurezuregusa* are lost on *kyōka* poets; the copy of *Rongo kokun* depicted in Shunman's design for essay no. 238 is testament to the interest in (scholarship on) Confucius' *Analects*. There is just one print in which a *Tsurezuregusa* essay is used to refer to 'ancient Japan', which may be linked to *kokugaku* ideology; Gakutei's design for essay number 16, depicting the goddess Amaterasu. The implications of the text and image in this print with regard to nostalgic tendencies versus ideological positions are discussed in the next section.

5.4 Dwelling on the cultural past

The genre of *kyōka* offered an attractive package of intelligent yet playful literary involvement, liberated social interaction and cultural nostalgia. The tendency towards looking back to the nation's rich cultural history is typical for, and detectable throughout mid- to late Edo period *kyōka*. The majority of *kyōka* books incorporate references to the cultural past. Titles, subject matter, and even internal arrangement mimic those of classical Japanese poetry anthologies. Authors of prefaces and epilogues refer to the classics, be they Chinese or Japanese. Illustrations, too, make frequent reference to the cultural past, in a variety of ways. Just as *kyōka* adopt a classic poem and twist its meaning around, famous scenes from the classics are also illustrated with a twist. *Kyōka* poets are portrayed parodying the appearance of renowned court poets from olden times, for instance. Despite the somewhat iconoclastic attitude towards classic poetry at the onset of *kyōka* popularity in Edo, the general setup of later *kyōka* gatherings was in fact based on the classical poetic tradition of the *utakai* and *uta awase*. People came together to compose poetry on a certain pre-decided theme - like nobility would have done in the Heian period. The intention of early Edo *kyōka* may have been to mock these classical practices, yet a positive veneration for the classic poets and their ways does present itself in *kyōka* practice, especially during the early nineteen-hundreds.

The cultural nostalgia of *surimono*

Surimono embody cultural nostalgia not only in their subject matter, but also - or perhaps even more so - in their format and designs, and in how they were used. Of course, subjects ranging from classical literature to historic figures, places far away in time and distance, and time-honored traditions, display an overall escapist sense of longing for elegance, beauty, refinement. Many aspects can be taken to convey nostalgic sentiments: the format of the prints resembled those of courtly poem cards (*shikishi*) and were very different from the formats in which commercial prints were available; the elegant calligraphy; design cues such as echoing the styles of classical painting schools; depiction of objects associated with the (courtly) past.[496] The function of *surimono* as conveyor of poetic message in a ritualized gift exchange has been theorized by McKee.[497] I agree with his explanation of how *surimono* formed part of a recreation of classical poetic practice. Thus, not only in their content and appearance, also in their use, *surimono* are a manifestation of cultural nostalgia.

Cultural nostalgia in literary *surimono*: *Tosa nikki* and *Tsurezuregusa*

The *Tosa nikki surimono* series as well as the three *Tsurezuregusa* series, too, are characterized by an overall tendency towards cultural nostalgia. Each of the series picks elegant and nostalgic topics from the classical texts that are treated, as I had already noted for both series, at the end of the case studies. Both

[496] I have mentioned most of these aspects in previous chapters and sections of this thesis, in other contexts. The short list of attributes serves just to point to those aspects that relate to nostalgia.
[497] McKee (2008 [1]), mainly pp. 480-484.

poetry and illustration work together in creating an atmosphere of refinement and erudition. All four series feature objects that breathe an atmosphere of Heian court elegance; shell matching game shells, luxurious mirrors, falconry falcons, (figures wearing) court attire, and many books and scrolls on writing tables or in book carts. Where numerous other *surimono* refer to impious aspects of contemporaneous urban culture - the admiration of courtesans, for instance - the illustrations in these series for the most part steer clear of any topics that could be regarded as mundane or vulgar.[498]

The sense of longing for a forlorn era is evident, for example, in the print for essay number 13 in the *Tsurezuregusa* series designed by Hokkei.[499] The phrase quoted from that section is "To sit alone by the lantern, open a book and make people from a world unseen ones' friends".[500] An appealing way to spend the time, especially for those who have scholarly interests, one could say. The entire section in *Tsurezuregusa*, however short, continues to mention the preferred books; mainly Chinese classical poetry of Bai Juyi and Taoist writings of Laozi, although Kenkō admits that there are also many good books written by Japanese writers 'of old'. Incidentally, the term Kenkō uses to positively qualify old Japanese texts is *aware* あはれ, a word frequently used in Heian period vernacular texts. The word pathos probably comes closest as a translation, although circumstances of the use in classical texts demand a considerable variety of nuances. What is of interest here is that Norinaga used the word *aware* in the expression *mono no aware* もののあはれ that he coined, literally 'the sadness of things'.[501] Thus, the section as a whole expresses a desire to connect with poets and author from past centuries, a sentiment that these *kyōka* poets obviously related to. By quoting only the first phrase and bringing to mind the gist of the entire section, the introductory text helps conjure up a nostalgic image of scholarly activity. The poems continue this image by referring to a 'reading table' (文机 *fuzukue*) and 'books studied' (まなびせし書 *manabiseshi sho*). The illustration complements this lonely, studious atmosphere by depicting a momentarily abandoned scholar's desk on which rest some closed books, sparsely lit by a wood and paper lantern, *andon* 行灯. The scene is viewed from outside a window, next to which a thin plum branch springs its first blossoms - see fig. 31.[502]

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[498] The only exception is perhaps the design for essay 23 of *Tsurezuregusa* in the series designed by Hokkei. In it, two men are engaged in an arm-wrestling competition. A third man is watching, leaned against the handles of a parked human-drawn carriage, which conforms to pictorial tradition for such Heian period two-wheeled enclosed carts. This section discusses the differences between the people inside and outside the imperial palace, and here, those who are to wait outside are depicted.

[499] Also presented in Forrer (2013), p. 190.

[500] "*Hitori tomoshibi no moto ni fumi o hirogete minu yo no hito o tomo to suru koso* ひとり灯のもとにふみをひろけてみぬ世の人を友とするこそ".

[501] Nosco (1990), p. 178, explains: "Its implication [, however,] was one of an acute sensitivity to the affective and emotional qualities of life - the person who possesses *mono no aware* has a seemingly instinctive sympathy with human actions, a sympathy that transcends and obviates the passing of moral judgment upon the implications of those actions".

[502] The poem on the left ends on the word *fumimado* 文窓, literally 'book window', which suggests a window by which one is reading. Otherwise, the word as such does not appear to exist.

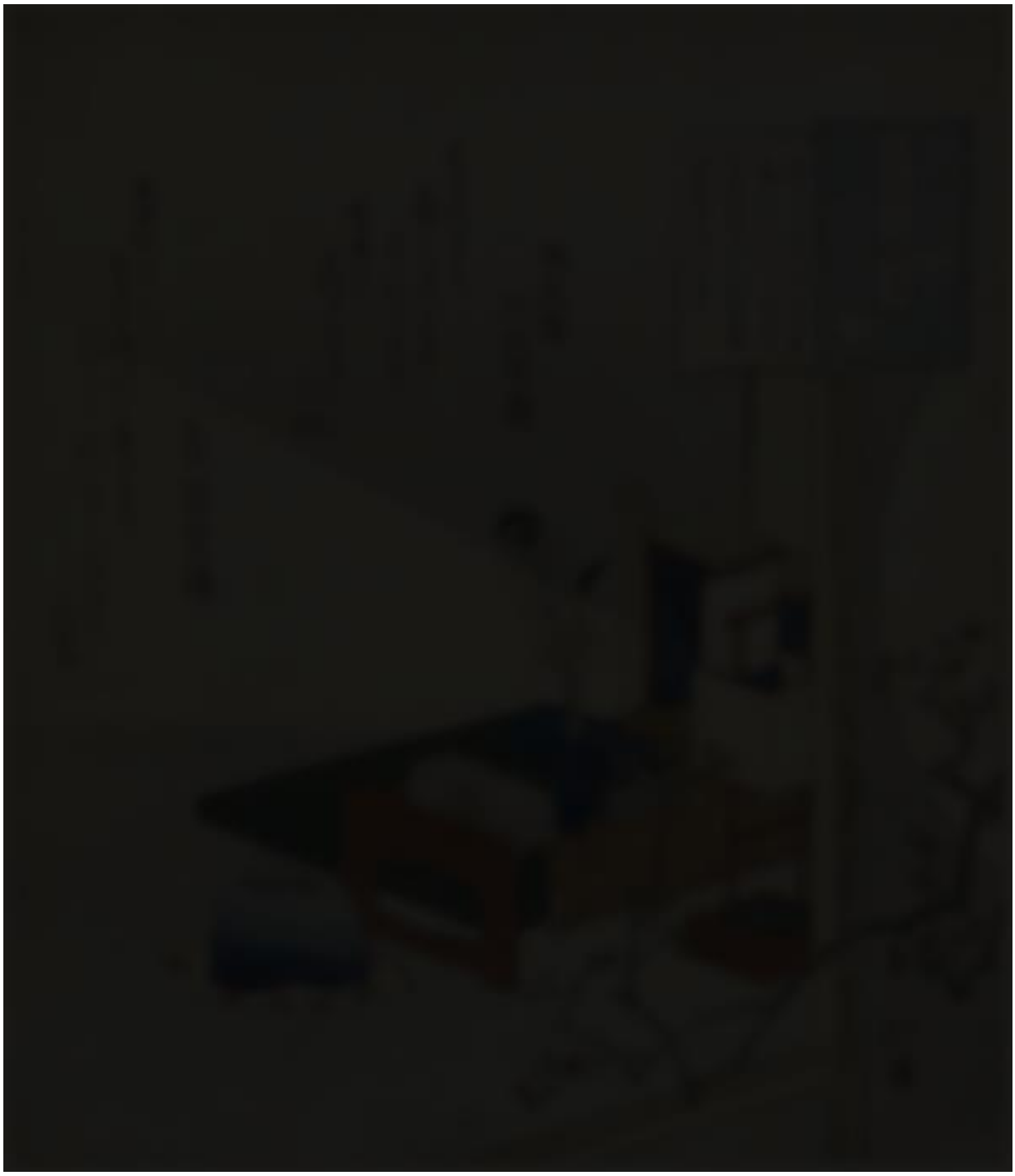

Fig. 31. Hokkei, *Tsurezuregusa* (Essay number 13), c. 1830, coll. Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1991-449.

The desire to connect to ancient times, rather than Heian period court culture, is encountered only sporadically. One clear example is the visualization of essay number 16 of *Tsurezuregusa*, as illustrated by Gakutei; see fig. 32. Yomogawa leader Yomo Utagaki Magao, known for his admiration of *kokugaku* scholarship and frequent references to 'ancient Japan',[503] together with two other poets, compose on the topic of 'dancing for the gods', *kagura* 神楽. This type of dance is connected to the well-known ancient

[503] See McKee (2008 [1]), chapter five and in particular pp. 468-480.

myth of the goddess Amaterasu hiding in a cave, recorded in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (‘*Chronicles of Japan*’, 720).[504] In essay number 16 of *Tsurezuregusa*, Kenkō simply praises *kagura* and expresses a favor for certain musical instruments used in these performances. The section taken from *Tsurezuregusa* is also referred to in the *kyōka* poems in several instances, with words such as *kamiasobi* 神遊ひ (literally ‘gods’ play’, but commonly meaning *kagura*)[505] and *fue* 笛, flute (mentioned in the second line of the essay, though not quoted in the print). The poems, furthermore, conspicuously refer to the ancient myth with words such as *iwato* 岩戸, stone door (to said cave). Although Amaterasu is not mentioned in the poems, she is prominently depicted in the illustration, about to receive a jewel as present from her brother Susanoo. She waves one sleeve, as if dancing herself. The print as a whole thus overtly refers to the Japanese creation myths that are not explicitly referred to in the section in *Tsurezuregusa*. Nonetheless, the gist of the poem by Magao - after all leader of the commissioning poetry group - does not convey a deep admiration for the gods, since it likens the story of Amaterasu’s hiding to a game of hide and seek in spring.

[504] The contents of this print are also discussed by Haft in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 147.
[505] See Haft in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), p. 147.

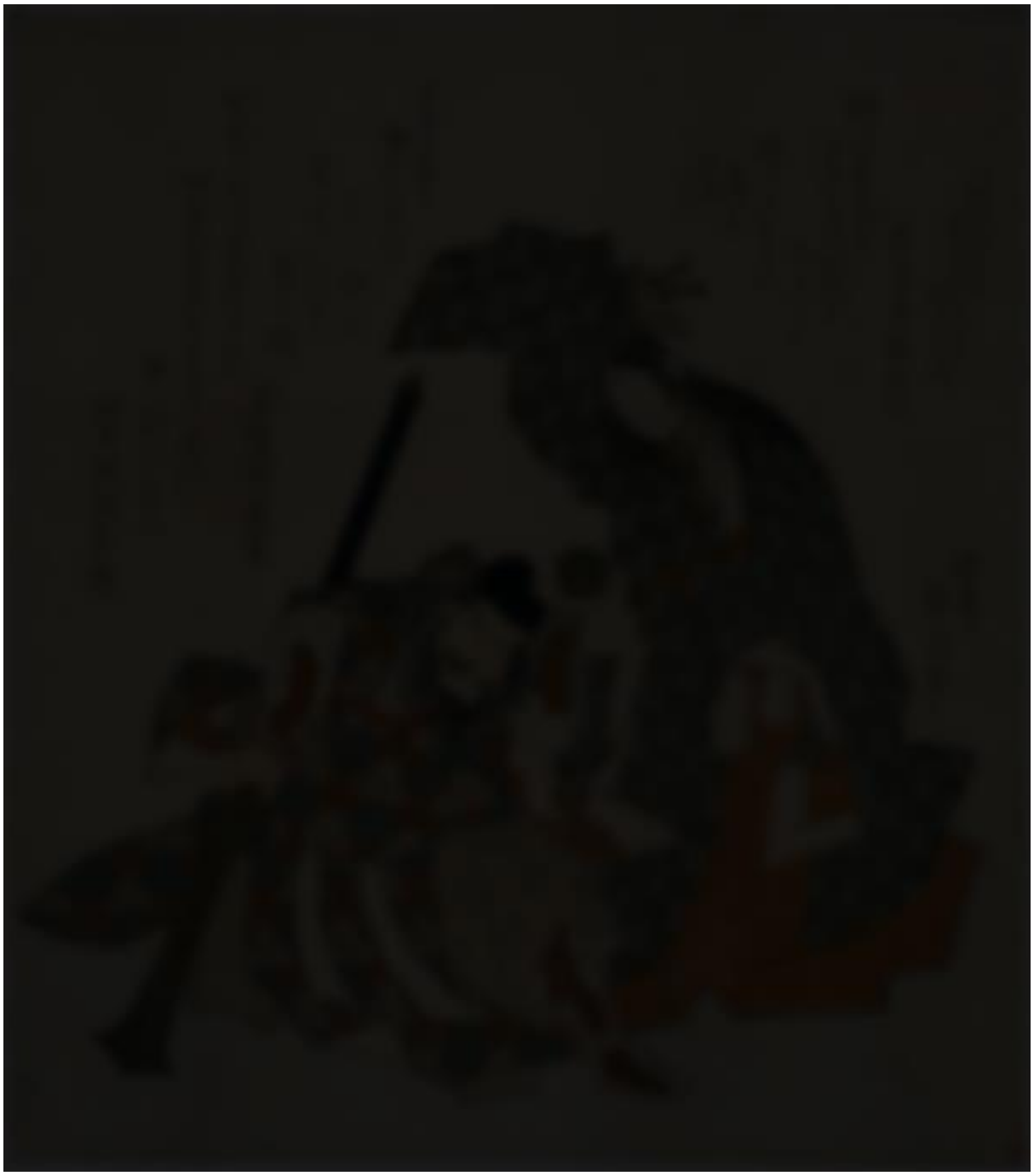

Fig. 32. Gakutei, *Tsurezuregusa* (Essay number 16), 1817, coll. Rietberg Museum, inv. no. 21.

Cultural nostalgia in *kyōka* awase practice

Poetry competitions equally display a form of cultural nostalgia in the poets' attempts at replicating a traditional practice. The cultural past that these poets tried to replicate actually belonged to the court nobility, which meant that in essence, these Edo period samurai and commoners appropriated a traditional practice that was not theirs. Let us first focus on the appearance of such practice in *kyōka* awase practice. As I have argued before, the popularity of *kyōka* in Edo may have started with a handful of poets who deliberately abolished all kinds of rules with regard to (the practice of) composition of *waka*, yet the development of *kyōka* shows a distinct institutionalization and fixation of regulations. *Kyōka* information

books contain explanations of how to correctly participate in competitions, down to the distribution of syllables written on the sheet of paper to be submitted, and the exact way to fold that paper.

One obvious example of how poetry contests replicated classical tradition is in the seating arrangement. Poets were divided into two teams, opposing each other. Judges and their assistants took a central position between the teams, spectators on the opposite side. The most illustrative account of this practice is found in the book *Yomo no Tawamureuta Nazukushi* 四方戯歌名尽 (*'Listing of names and silly poems by [the] Yomo [group]'*) of 1809, edited by the revered *kyōka* poet Yomo Utagaki Magao 四方歌垣真顔 (1753-1829), on the occasion of a meeting at the house of the poet Shibanoya San'yō 芝の屋山陽 (d. 1836).[506] The meeting's illustration was done by Utagawa Toyohiro 歌川豊廣 (1773-1828), and an explanation of the order of things given by San'yōdō above the illustration. Various other examples exist though: several *kyōka* matches were illustrated by Gakutei in publications from the 1820s and 1830s.[507] The consistency in seating arrangement shows that the classic form was clearly adhered to. Further proof of the fixed nature of the seating arrangement is found in a graph included on a printed sheet carrying information about the history of *kyōka*, and proper *kyōka* procedures, edited by San'yōdō and distributed in 1814 (fig. 33 and fig. 34).[508]

[506] As far as I'm aware, this illustration was first published and discussed by Kenney in Bowie et al., (1979). McKee (2008 [1]), pp. 484-487, provides additional thoughts on this illustration, remarking that the contest borrows many aspects from tradition and that the participants appear very serious about their contest.
[507] See Makino (2008), p. 56, and Kok (2010), p. 69.
[508] This information sheet displays fascinating information about the practicalities of *kyōka* competitions, such as approved sizes of *tanzaku* and *shikishi* (to be measured by the ruler printed on the edge of the sheet) and lists of great poets and their year and month of demise, a list of major contests that were held to date, etc. etc.. This would deserve a complete transcription and translation in future research.

Fig. 33. *Kyōka* information sheet edited by San'yōdō, 1814. Coll. Tokyo Metropolitan Library, inv. no. KA7424-026.

Fig. 34. Seating arrangement on *kyōka* information sheet edited by San'yōdō (detail), 1814. Coll. Tokyo Metropolitan Library, inv. no. KA7424-026.

5.5 Conclusions chapter five

Kyōka society was connected to a broad range of scholarship, of which the relations to *kokugaku* were most apparent. The main figures in the genre of *kyōka*, more specifically circle leaders and designers, could connect to scholars not only through publications, but through direct correspondence as well. Achievements of the Edo period such as affordable reproduction of texts, a reliable transport system, and the distribution of documents through couriers, allowed for the exchange of knowledge on an unprecedented scale. Those who could afford it had access to an expanding library of (printed) scholarship that already spanned almost two centuries; those who had the connections could stay up to date with (manuscript) scholarship as it progressed.

Kyōka poets of samurai stock, although institutionally more likely to have enjoyed good education, did not play a leading role in bringing scholarship of classical literature in Japanese to *kyōka* society. The first section of this chapter provided short introductions of major *surimono* designers and poets, and their documented or presumed connections to scholarship of their time. This has made it clear that knowledge of the literary subjects addressed in *surimono* series could stem from designers and poets alike. Furthermore, it has shown that neither access to knowledge and understanding of classical literature, nor the choice for Japanese or Chinese themes, strongly correlate to birth status. Rather, the results of my investigations into *surimono* confirm the theory that commoners were more likely than samurai to appropriate knowledge of court literature.

Surimono creators did not conform to existing iconographies or pictorial traditions, but rather showed a large degree of independence in their handling and presentation of classical literary texts. My investigation of *surimono* series on classical texts has shown that *surimono* creators did not shy away from handling subjects that were otherwise not treated in popular publications. In combination with a profound interplay of text and image, *surimono* constitute productions that became part of the very reception history of the classical texts they took as inspiration.

Surimono series did not actively promote the ideological aspects of contemporaneous currents in scholarship. The content in literary *surimono* series clearly borrows from the results of philological study of classical texts - that is certain. Neither the nativist ideas forwarded by some of the major *kokugaku* scholars, nor indeed the Confucianist philosophies associated with *kangaku*, resound in the illustrations and poems. Instead, emphasis is placed on the classical elegance, found in refined details that surfaced from a close reading of the original texts. If the *surimono* series in question, then, are observed as part of reception histories of classical literature, they should be regarded as playing a role in the visualization, i.e. imagination of a cultural past, rather than a body of visual and textual artworks that promote any ideological or political comment.

The total of activities of *kyōka* society thus displays a distinct cultural nostalgia evident in most if not all materials it issued. Practicing *kyōka* allowed for an escape to largely imaginary epochs, lands and atmospheres. Such intentions prevail in most *surimono* and *surimono* series. Poem and illustration, and

execution of printing not to be forgotten, appealed to the emotions of those yearning for a shift in reality.

However, while some strains of *kokugaku* may have promoted a return to a Japanese culture uncontaminated by foreign influences, the scope of subjects in the entirety of *surimono* series refutes such notions. Some series may hint to a subtle cultural nationalism, yet the frequent appearance of foreign subjects and objects, incorporation of references to Chinese language and culture, and the examples of series in which Japanese and Chinese figures feature virtually side by side, point to a tendency to include 'non-Japanese' cultural attributes rather than an endeavor to exclude these. *Surimono* were produced at a time when Japan is regarded to have been pre-occupied with a cultural self-identification, and it is possible to take the whole of *surimono* subjects to form part of an effort - whether conscious or not - to delineate the boundaries of Japanese identity through the treatment of typical texts, histories, legends products, traditions and places. Nonetheless, the foreign counterparts appearing in *surimono* are not presented as opposing, but rather as supporting to Japanese culture. This underlines the fact that the gist of most *surimono* is one of general cultural nostalgia, regardless of origin.

Conclusion

A comprehensive approach to understanding *surimono*

Although the role of print designers in the creation of an outstanding *surimono* is significant, it is important to realize that the initiative to issue a *surimono* lay with poets, not designers. This statement is not intended to discredit the role of *surimono* designers, who were instrumental in conveying the contents of the poetry and enhancing their appeal by creating illustrations that echoed or enhanced the images evoked by the poetry. Yet, *kyōka surimono* exist because poets wished to present their poems in an appealing way. Additionally, it is important to note here that groups and networks of poets were the driving force behind *surimono* commissions, rather than individual *kyōka* poets. For, even when an individual poet commissioned a *surimono*, its intended purpose was to engage in exchange with other poets. Even if this dissertation has paid ample attention to individual *kyōka* poets, the aim has not been to highlight individual contributions to *kyōka surimono* as to emphasize the totality of communal enterprises. *Surimono* series exist because groups of poets commissioned artists to design multiple prints as vehicles for the presentation of their poems. The proliferation of *kyōka surimono* in general is the result of the proliferation of *kyōka* society. *Surimono* are just one of many materials that *kyōka* society brought forth, and a more complete understanding of *kyōka* society enables a better understanding of the functions of *surimono*.

A large portion of this thesis is dedicated to *kyōka* books and it will come as no surprise that I advocate the study of these books as part of *surimono* research. *Surimono* operate on many levels, yet from *surimono* alone, the ramifications of each of those levels cannot be understood. Of course, the visual and textual content of *surimono* can be studied one print at a time and still reveal much of the inspirations of its creators. Yet, if we imagine a *surimono* exchange between two poets, we realize that the prints they held in their hands, viewed, and read, fitted into a complex set of values of the *kyōka* society of which these poets formed part. A poet familiar with those values would instantly pick up clues embedded in a *surimono*, regarding affiliation and therefore poetic ideals, position of the poet within the circle, and also his or her interest in the cultural history of Japan or China. If we wish to really understand the meanings of *surimono* as well as the additional information they transmitted to the receiver, some 200 years after they were exchanged, it is necessary to study both the artistic content and appending data.

Just the investigation of content of poetry and image alone, admittedly, is already quite a challenge. Scholars working on *surimono* strive to correctly transcribe and translate the poems, and describe the relation to the illustration. Since any one word can allude to for instance certain cultural traditions, a classic poem or scene in a literary classic, a seemingly straightforward poem may hide deeper layers of meaning that are difficult to uncover. Accordingly, the intended allusions in the illustration can be easily overlooked if the poetry is not fully understood. The study of *surimono* has come a long way since the initial interest in these prints outside Japan at the end of the nineteenth century. Many excellent catalogs have appeared since the 1970s, and the understanding of the interplay of text and image has reached a higher standard than ever before. Additionally, scholars, starting with John Carpenter, have started to devote attention to the relations between *surimono* on literary subjects and contemporaneous scholarship

on the same classical texts. My research has continued this approach, with an additional comparison of the wording in the poems to the annotated texts that the *surimono* creators (could have) used as reference material. This method is labor-intensive, yet helps reveal intended allusions and references in poetry and image. Not all *surimono* contain such elaborate allusions or references, it must be admitted. The careful dissection of the poetry and comparison to likely sources of inspiration available at the time therefore also helps separate superficial *surimono* from the truly sophisticated, rooted in academic tradition.

It is also important to recognize *surimono* as products of interlinked artistic and intellectual networks. Verifying the social connections between prominent *kyōka* masters, designers, writers, and scholars places the content of the *surimono* in yet a broader, socio-cultural perspective. Additionally, plotting the other publications by the same (circle of) poets, enables us to further overcome the notion of a *surimono* as an isolated commission. This not only applies to *surimono* that were issued as part of a series. Single sheet *surimono* commissioned by an individual poet should also be considered as part of a wider range of activities on his or her part, a continuous involvement in *kyōka* society, not an impulsive action around the New Year. The more we know about *kyōka* circle membership, activities organized by a circle, biographical data on individual poets, connections to intellectual networks, the closer we can get to truly understanding all that a *surimono* represented to members of *kyōka* society. As my research has shown, this is only possible if each of the aspects that intersect in *surimono* is pursued.

The function and position of *kyōka* within Edo period cultural pursuits

Kyōka evolved from an elitist literary, though escapist, pursuit on a small scale to a widespread hobby over the sixty-odd years of its highest popularity. The reason for this popularity lies in a mix of the diversion from daily reality, the joy of composing poetry in a group with the possibility of presenting the poems in visually appealing publications, playing with concepts of identity, and - since assuming a different identity did not actually amount to anonymity - a confirmation of cultural and social status. For *kyōka* poets, composing verses in the old *waka* tradition offered the possibility of playfully using their literary knowledge in the composition of witty if sometimes slightly subversive poetry, while on the other hand displaying their cultural sophistication. The comparison to *haikai* poetry of the same period strengthens the observation that *kyōka* is the 'classy' counterpart of *haikai* in the sense that both the purveyors of the genre are generally from higher social echelons of Edo society, as well as the fact that *kyōka* poetry is in general less subversive in tone. The links to the classic and courtly *uta awase* culture are further proof of the *kyōka* poets' tendency towards a culturally and socially elitist stance.

Despite its haphazard origins, *kyōka* society became increasingly institutionalized, especially during the early nineteenth century. At the onset around the Tenmei era, Edo *kyōka* poetry and related publications were marked by throwing overboard conventions with regard to both poetic content and social constructs. The small *kyōka* society of that time was radical, in that sense. However, more and larger meetings were held, *kyōka* started to become published, circles became networks; the genre of *kyōka* became institutionalized. It is quite a transition from mocking classical poetry, devising vulgar pen names, and publishing portraits in which court costumes are visually parodied, to genuinely seeking inspiration in

classical texts in order to compose more elegant verses, emphasizing circle affiliation in pen names rather than seizing the opportunity to make yet another pun, and having all poets depicted as culturally behaved men and women.

One obvious characteristic of the institutionalization in the *kyōka* genre is the application of systems of measuring quality. The tendency to rank contestants is by no means exclusive to *kyōka*; it is merely an application of existing ranking systems to this genre. At face value, this system of - in principle - anonymous entries and meticulous calculation of scores seems exceedingly meritocratic. This would correspond very well with the idea of enthusiastic poets from different walks of life competing under equal - egalitarian - circumstances. To a certain extent, this will have been the case. My research has shown, however, that the entry fees to *kyōka* competitions constituted a considerable financial investment. Climbing in the ranks was only possible through continued participation, and thus continuous investment. The above does not dismiss the meritocratic nature of *kyōka* competition entirely. To paraphrase and elaborate on what Takahashi Akinori fittingly commented when discussing the ranking system: if enthusiastic amateur poets pay a handsome competition entry fee only to be confronted with unfair scoring, *kyōka* popularity could not have grown to the size it did, nor continued to thrive as long.

The material results of *kyōka*

Fine illustrated *kyōka* books and *surimono* provided the perfect vehicle to incorporate all the aspects valued in *kyōka* society. The aesthetic refinement of a classical style of poetry could be combined with a visualization of cultural and literary history. This combination resulted in publications dense with meaning, providing poets with the opportunity to present themselves as persons of cultural sophistication on multiple levels. Among the qualities that could be exhibited through deluxe *kyōka* books and *surimono* in particular are having a talent for poetry, having received sound training in *kyōka*, a good education in languages and a command of a sophisticated vocabulary, knowledge of classical literature, knowledge of important historic figures from Japan and China, being connected to the theatre and demi-monde of Edo, a taste for fine products from throughout the country, etc.. Positioning of poets indicated the hierarchy between them. For poets, then, the printed materials they commissioned enabled them to present themselves in a very comprehensive way, including their intellect, their tastes and interests, and other variables that made up their social position.

It could be argued that the attractive nature of the materials these poets issued to focus attention on themselves is also what enables researchers of our times to investigate their situation and the messages they aimed to convey. For it is due to the aesthetic and material qualities that *surimono* and illustrated *kyōka* books have survived - in collections outside Japan in particular. Although attention for these prints and books started with a taste for the (colorful) designs and technical refinement, research of *surimono* and *kyōka* materials in general has gradually revealed the deeper layers of significance, starting with content of the poetry. Continued investigations have uncovered aspects of social interaction, literary scholarship, and cultural nostalgia. The research for this thesis has benefited immensely from the many efforts by earlier

researchers and has aimed to contribute to an even deeper understanding of *kyōka* materials. Thus, although the field started from an attraction to the visual and material qualities, it ultimately is the careful dedication to these qualities that ensured that the multilayered information that poets wished to convey receives attention today.

Size and dynamics of *kyōka* poetry networks

The actual size and dynamics of *kyōka* circles and networks are found in *kyōka* books, rather than *surimono* prints. *Surimono* series, even the larger series, often give a false impression: small series have been issued by circles that actually hosted very large competitions. On rare occasions, even the opposite is possible; I presented the case of the Hisakatayaren for instance, which issued numerous exquisite *surimono*, while *kyōka* books of this poetry circle are not known at all. Many of the larger *kyōka* circles, however, regularly issued *kyōka* books. It is through these books that the size of *kyōka* circles and *kyōka* networks become apparent. Careful examination reveals not only membership numbers but also geographical locations of contributing poets, birth status of members, the level of activity of a circle or network, connections to illustration designers, and in some cases connections to publishers. This information is an indispensable source for background information to aid the investigation of *surimono*. *Kyōka* books put the publication of *surimono* series in perspective, providing a background not retrievable from the *surimono* alone.

A major outcome of my study of *kyōka* books is their division into categories. I am not the first to recognize differences between *kyōka* books, of course, and especially studies in Japanese have placed various *kyōka* books in different categories. The categories mentioned in Japanese literature are the same that are usually applied to poetry books of other genres, without further reasoning. My categorization, however, is based on the identification of the three major functions that *kyōka* books fulfilled: anthologizing superior poetry, recording competition results, and providing all kinds of useful information to aspiring *kyōka* poets. Although some overlap does occur, *kyōka* books can generally be designated to one of these categories, based on proper investigation of the contents and the intentions of the publication.

It is due to the strong tendency in *kyōka* society to rank poetry according to scores and to record pen names and place of domicile, in competition result books in particular, that we can find information about individual poets and their position within a network. On a general level, *kyōka* books offer insights into the distribution of poets between Edo and the provinces, thereby providing further proof of how wide the networks based in Edo had spread in a given year. On an individual level, the meticulous recording of scores offers possibilities to trace poets known from *surimono* and confirm their merits in the *kyōka* competition. The preliminary checks I have conducted, such as for the *surimono* and *kyōka* book publications of the Katsushikaren in 1821, have revealed that the groups of poets in *surimono* series and the groups of poets in *kyōka* books do not overlap as much as expected. In other words; poets who do not appear to be regularly active in competitions could still appear on *surimono*. As I have argued before, reasons for this should be sought in social connections and financial contributions to the *kyōka* circle in question. Without the information from *kyōka* books, this aspect of how *kyōka* society worked would not

have been verifiable.

The *kyōka* books I label 'information books' provide further data about established tastes and guidelines in *kyōka* society. These books identify the major *kyōka* masters and their styles, and explain how to go about composing *kyōka* and entering competitions. The very fact that these books exist is proof of the increased scale of *kyōka* society. *Kyōka* and its rules soon left the confines of small circles around the handful of pioneers in Edo, and information books where deemed necessary to educate the growing throng already in the 1780s. *Kyōka* amateurs in turn were obviously in the market for such books. *Kyōka* information books not only confirm that *kyōka* grew rapidly, they show how the genre continuously institutionalized and looked to classical poetic practice in establishing regulations.

The total array of *kyōka* books clarifies the nature of the social networks associated with the *kyōka* genre. During the first decades of the nineteenth century, when *kyōka* society had reached its maturity, the network structure had become rather elaborate. The nucleus of a *kyōka* poetry master who taught a circle of students remained the basis for the entire *kyōka* society. This is consistent with practice in other poetry genres and other arts in Edo Japan. The popularity of the genre increased rapidly, attracting large numbers of enthusiastic amateurs. Those who had been pupils during the early stages of Edo *kyōka* became the new judges and circle leaders. The legitimacy of their leadership was corroborated by a lineage that could be traced back to the *kyōka* pioneer under whom the younger leader had studied. New judges were accredited as such, and these could go on to teach their own group of pupils, consequently causing the number of circles to grow. *Kyōka* circles spread throughout most of the country while maintaining contact with Edo, benefitting from the quality of the infrastructure of the later Edo period, considerable numbers of traveling persons for the alternative attendance between Edo and the provinces and business travel between the major cities, and information exchange through an efficient postal system. Despite the geographical distances, circle leaders generally did not strive for independence - on the contrary; they retained their connection to the prominent *kyōka* master in Edo to whom they traced their poetic lineage. The assortment of *kyōka* circles operating under the umbrella of a larger circle in Edo, headed by a prominent *kyōka* master, is what I designate as a *kyōka* network. *Kyōka* books and printed materials related to *kyōka* competitions reveal that most of the institutionalized *kyōka* society can be divided according to this structure of a limited number of major networks consisting of various interconnected circles.

Birth status, cultural capital, scholarship

The genre of *kyōka* is often credited with creating spaces in which social boundaries could be overcome. Certainly, the interaction between commoners and people of samurai birth is remarkable if one maintains the Confucianist ideals along which the ruling samurai elite preferred to divide society. When considering parameters such as cultural and economic capital, however, divisions among the urban population of Edo prove not clear-cut. Advancements in popular education and access to knowledge through the medium of print gradually decoupled cultural capital from birth status. Economic power of

successful merchants and artisans could eclipse that of impoverished samurai, which in turn meant that the possibilities for commissioning fine objects such as *surimono* for expressing poetic sentiments and aesthetic taste was by no means limited to people of one or other birth status. Although the circumstances of status at birth and wealth would differ between poets, they could be said to all belong to the same class of urban citizens with comparable levels of knowledge and cultural interest.

One of the aims of this research has been to answer the question whether or not there is a relation between social position and choice for the genre of *kyōka*. There certainly is, although it requires careful and nuanced elaboration. Two aspects need to be considered. First, social position does not equal birth status, as I have explained above. With regard to the social position of poets, several conclusions can be drawn. In general, participation in the genre of *kyōka* was relatively expensive, and therefore limited to only those who could afford it. Whether of samurai birth or otherwise, one's economic situation was of consequence, especially for those aspiring to contribute to the high-end *kyōka* books and *surimono*. Representative materials of the Bunka and Bunsei eras that I investigated have shown that the proportion of poets of samurai stock is considerable, and in some circles higher than that of merchants. Unfortunately, the variables are too many to give exact numbers and percentages for *kyōka* circles and compare these to data that regard the entire population. An additional complicating factor is that the percentage of samurai within the total population of Japan does not correspond with the percentage of samurai within the urban population of Edo, since it was the seat of government. The main conclusions that can be drawn from the data revealed by competition announcements, *kyōka* books, ranking tables, and *surimono* are that samurai and merchants together occupy the vast majority of *kyōka* poets; samurai outnumber merchants in certain circles and vice versa; economic situation of the poets outweighed birth status and even geographical location for much of the organized *kyōka* competition.

The second aspect to consider is the change in circumstances over time. In congruence with earlier *kyōka* popularity in the Kansai region, many of the pioneering poets in Edo were samurai who composed *kyōka* as a diversion - from their more serious studies of *waka* poetry for instance. Commoner participation commenced before long, as described by Iwasaki Haruko.[509] Ratios of samurai versus merchants and other commoners fluctuated with the passing of time. Samurai participation in *kyōka* is often regarded as having dropped due to stricter government regulations of the Kansei reforms. While it is true that some prominent figures in *kyōka* society who were of samurai birth withdrew from public view, my investigation has disclosed that samurai participation in general by no means ended. At least during the 1810s and 1820s, poets of samurai birth occupy a substantial portion of *kyōka* society.

Cultural sophistication played an important role in the composition of *kyōka*, which is why connections to renowned artists and scholars confirmed the legitimacy of the leaders in *kyōka* society. To begin with, poets who did not have a decent knowledge of *waka* could not aspire to writing great *kyōka*.

[509] Iwasaki (1984).

For a parody to be successful, the original has to be studied carefully. If erudition was a precondition for *kyōka*, than scholarship of classical texts - or connections to scholarship - indicated an ongoing effort to improve quality on the part of *kyōka* masters. The continued and spirited study of classical texts and anthologies for the benefit of *kyōka* quality is also further proof the serious attitude towards composing poetry in this genre, despite the literal meaning of the word *kyōka* suggesting otherwise.

The connections between *kyōka* circles and scholarship on classical literature are diverse. Some circle leaders are scholars themselves; others have direct personal connections to scholars. Some designers of *surimono*, too, had connections to scholars. In *kyōka* information books, biographies of poets often mention an interest in the study of classical literature. And despite a rare *surimono* series that revolves around an obscure classical text of which no printed editions existed - cf. *Torikaebaya monogatari* as discussed by Carpenter - my investigation of literary *surimono* series and the *Tosa nikki* series in particular has shown that much of the scholarship that was relied on for knowledge of the classical text was in fact available in print. The total of *surimono* topics reveals an obvious interest in classical literature and cultural history of both Japan and China - so much so that many poets active in the genre must have had possession of annotated editions of classical texts. The frequent depiction of *kyōka* poets reading a volume of such texts in *kyōka* book illustrations corroborates this claim. Members of *kyōka* circles who studied the classics valued the *kyōka* master who taught them not only for the quality of his *kyōka*, but also for his knowledge of classical literature.

Surimono series on classical literary subjects in particular occupy a unique place in the reception history of classical literature in Japan. *Kyōka* poets and *surimono* designers actively engaged with the classical texts, in word and image, freely imagining circumstances of a cultural past. Not only did *surimono* creators handle some obscure classical texts; when classics that belonged in the realm of popular knowledge were handled, established iconographies were often ignored. In my view, '*kyōka*', understood as 'non-serious *waka*', made this possible. The premise, or should I say *façade* of 'just playing around' with *waka* poetry paved the way for a degree of artistic freedom that allowed both poets and illustrators to operate outside fixed traditions. Although I have argued that competing in *kyōka* was a serious affair to poets, the *kyō* in *kyōka* cast off any claims to actually operating in the same literary domain as poets who belonged to the nobility that brought forth this literature, or to the spheres of professional *waka* poets in Edo. In doing so, however, *kyōka* society created an opportunity for appropriating the literature of that very domain. The boldness of *kyōka* circles and the designers they recruited resulted in intricate documents that feature an acknowledgement of classical literature based on a committed study of the texts, while taking a degree of liberty with the content that was uncommon in other artistic expressions of the era, whether in word or in image.

Birth class and the provenance of cultural knowledge

The provenance of cultural and literary knowledge in *surimono* correlates to birth class, though not in the way one would expect; samurai may have boasted occupying the highest position within in the Confucianist stratification of society, and in principle the best education, yet merchants and artisans were

usually the driving force behind the major *surimono* series on Japanese literary subjects. Most of the *kyōka* circles that commissioned literary *surimono* series were headed by commoners, and most designers involved in such commissions were commoners as well. Despite the fact that poets with different birth statuses mingled - to a certain extent - in *kyōka* circles, there is little indication that poets of samurai birth in particular can be credited with bringing literary knowledge to *kyōka* society.

The correlation between birth class and scholarship in the Edo period has been discussed by Thomas J. Harper, who asserts that the study of classical texts was indeed frequently conducted by commoners.[510] The activities of certain circle leaders of samurai extraction notwithstanding, this generally holds true for the total of *surimono* series inspired by literary texts. Several factors contribute to the relative absence of samurai in this process. One of these factors is education. The typical curriculum for samurai was geared towards Chinese moral philosophy, in particular (Neo-)Confucianist texts.[511] Samurai rule dictated that society be modelled on Confucianist ideals and this was reflected in the approved education. Another factor is the notion that a focus on early Japanese texts, certainly those that could be interpreted to prefer authority of the imperial house over that of the warrior class, would not be supported by those aiming to perpetuate the status quo.

This is not to say that there existed a clear distribution of *surimono* subjects according to birth status of the circle leader and/or designer. 'Samurai circles' commissioned series on Japanese classical literature as well (cf *Uji shūi monogatari*, designed by 'samurai' Gakutei for the predominantly samurai-populated Katsushikaren) and 'commoner circles' commissioned series on referring to Chinese texts (cf *Suikoden* series, designed by 'commoner' Kuniyoshi for the Taikogawa). Everything classical could provide inspiration, and birth status was no obstacle for the choice for one or the other. However, the hypothesis that samurai, with their superior education, exclusively provided the *kyōka* society with the necessary cultural and literary knowledge to execute the intellectual projects that literary *surimono* series were, is false.

Cultural nostalgia reflected in *kyōka* publications

A general interest in tradition, historic figures, and classical literature and poetry is undeniably present in many *kyōka* publications and in *surimono* especially. The popularity of the genre of *kyōka* in Edo coincides with active scholarship in the *kokugaku* tradition that is credited with laying the foundation for nativist debate mainly through the philological study of classical Japanese texts. Direct connections between *kyōka* poets and *kokugaku* scholarship are numerous. However, I contend that it goes too far to label *kyōka* society in its entirety as a 'movement' involved in late Edo nativist studies. A balanced evaluation of the range of *surimono* series issued between 1800 and 1835 reveals that only a portion of these series refers to classical literature in the vernacular, and this concerns texts from the mid-Heian period and onwards associated with the philological study of Japanese literature, as opposed to the earlier historic records and

[510] Harper (2000).
[511] Dore (1965), chapters two and four. Beerens (2006), p. 277, also addresses the position of samurai in intellectual life, stating that "the samurai's attitude towards 'culture' and 'the intellect' was, in fact, somewhat ambiguous".

poetic anthologies more directly associated with the nativist debate on the essence of Japanese culture, religion and national identity, to which only a couple of series refer. Moreover, we have seen that at least in one case - the *Tosa nikki surimono* series - a pre-*kokugaku* commentary was referred to instead of more recent *kokugaku* scholarship in the same text. Furthermore, Chinese themes, literature and historic figures were also regularly taken as subject for *surimono* series, and these are not being treated as 'other', rather as integral to a rich and complete cultural history that could serve as inspiration for *kyōka* and *surimono*. Overall, classical literature, history, and tradition were transformed into *surimono*, yet the content was interpreted in terms of nostalgic atmosphere, not in terms of a political, nativist agenda. As such, we can conclude that in general *kyōka* publications as well as *kyōka* practice reflect the trend in urban 'commoner' society towards the appropriation of a historical elite court culture, rather than the trend of politicizing ancient texts.

When examining the distribution of *surimono* series' subjects per poetry circle and designer more closely, it becomes possible to separate general interest from individual interests. As it turns out, those *surimono* series that focus most directly on classical literature and borrow from increased the study of the original texts can be linked to a limited number of circles - the Asakusagawa and the Hakurakugawa being the foremost - and one designer - Kubo Shunman. Separations are not clear-cut, however. The Asakusagawa issued a series on a Chinese subject (designed by Gakutei) as well and many other *kyōka* circles commissioned series inspired by classical Japanese literature. Some of these were designed by Shunman, but others also by Gakutei and Hokkei mainly, two designers who also handled Chinese subjects.

Nevertheless, that part of the *surimono* oeuvre which deals with classical literature in Japanese has a role in the formation of the Japanese canon of literary classics. The fact that *kyōka* circles produced series of poetry prints that were inspired by classical texts that were not available in print or at least not widely read outside scholarly networks places at least some of these *surimono* creators in a distinguished place in the reception history of the works of literature in question. Despite the obvious influence of earlier series on later designers, the impact of these projects on the wider development of canon formation is difficult to measure. Those involved in *surimono* and the visualization of classical literature through poetry and image contributed to the establishment of what constituted Japanese literature and as such played a part in further definition of the Japanese nation as a cultural process.

My investigation of the various *kyōka* publications has shown that *kyōka* poets were connected in networks that spanned considerable distances. Many *kyōka* poets not only corresponded over long distances, their positions in society offered opportunities to actually travel to relatively remote places more than most commoners of their time. Fellow poets not only competed in the same genre, they apparently shared an interest for certain classical literature. These factors without doubt accelerated the imagining of community. The concept of a 'Japanese nation' in fact surfaces in several *kyōka* publications. The most obvious example features in the *kyōka* information sheet I presented in figure 33: a little map of 'Japan' displays the distribution of *kyōka* judges in the provinces, thereby essentially visually confirming the interconnectedness of *kyōka* poets as members of the same cultural sphere. More indirectly, *surimono* series

on the subject of famous products of the provinces, and series presenting prominent warriors 'of our country' (*honchō* 本朝) further solidify the geographical, historical, and cultural outlines of the country. A careful assessment of *kyōka* materials thus demonstrates that *kyōka* society does not display a coordinated ideological agenda, yet that it clearly reflects developments in Japanese society with regard to national culture and identity, and at a relatively early point in time.

Future research

Much of the research conducted on the topic of *surimono* has formed part of exhibition catalogs. The research per print and the preliminary essays in these catalogs may be well-researched, yet they suffer from the inherently arbitrary nature of the collections they describe. As I have argued throughout this thesis, in order to understand *surimono*, it is necessary to research the complete series, or - in the case of single sheets - trace other commissions by the same poet(s). Better yet, the *surimono* should be matched to other publications such as books by the same poetry circle or poet(s). Additionally, biographical data of as many of the poets as can be traced, as well as social connections, should be used to place the publications in perspective. This approach will help break the isolated study of *surimono*. While I understand that *surimono* will likely be studied per collection on occasion in the future, it is my hope that future editors of exhibition catalogs or similar publications will show sensitivity to my arguments against exceedingly arbitrary editorial choices such as the sorting of prints by alphabetical order of the transcription of the designers' most commonly used artist names. Sorting *surimono* by designer has its merits, also since *kyōka* circles commissioned designs from certain artists knowing the specialties and strongpoints of the artists. The ordering of artists, however, should then be conducted on either a chronological basis or be based on artistic lineage. A thematic sorting of *surimono* was conducted on several occasions in the past and the major advantage of this approach is that a catalog or similar publication at least provides an easily understandable overview of the themes and subjects that interested *surimono* creators.

This thesis has left several issues concerning *kyōka* materials not fully explored. One of these issues is the conception of *surimono* series' commissions. Many *surimono* series show evidence of privileged (subgroups within) *kyōka* circles having commissioned series to which the bulk of the members of the circle had no access. The properties of these series - matched to the series from the years before and after - show all the hallmarks of decision making process restricted to an in-crowd. Some of the largest *surimono* series of the 1820s, on the other hand, have hallmarks - to use that word again - that make them resemble the larger competition result books of the same era. One of these hallmarks is the appearance of relatively large numbers of poets from the provinces, who could not have easily be involved in an in-crowd decision making process such as apparent in smaller series. It is certainly complicated to devise a method to reach irrefutable conclusions on the matter of decision making process in the commissioning of such larger *surimono* series, yet I would argue once again that a careful matching of the poets featuring in such series to their appearance in competition result books an ranking tables of their poetry circle in

the same years - such as I have presented for the Katsushikaren - should yield reliable results.

Within the range of *surimono* series, there are some obvious candidates for investigation along the lines of the method applied in this thesis. For a deeper understanding of the influence of *kokugaku* and the actual contents of the discourse as implemented by *kyōka* poets, the *Kogentei* series designed by Hokkei for the Manjiren in 1831 would very much benefit such treatment. The *Makura no sōshi* series of 1823, designed by Hokuba for the Asakusagawa - a circle known for its connections to *kokugaku* - also deserves a close investigation of the poetry in relation to exegetical texts. The fact that this series on a classical text in Japanese was not designed by Shunman like the same circle's *Tsurezuregusa* and *Ise monogatari* series of some twelve years before should offer many opportunities for comparison, and further assessment of the role the designer played in these projects.

Another type of *kyōka* material that would merit further, systematic investigation is *ukiyoe* paintings inscribed with *kyōka* by prominent figures from *kyōka* society, in their own brush. Quite a number of these painting exist, many of these painted by skilled and renowned artists, and inscribed by the very cream of the *kyōka* genre. Not much is known nor theorized about the conception and function of these paintings. Cynically perhaps, I conjecture that the main reason or executing these *kyōka* poetry paintings entailed financial benefit. These paintings were no doubt of high value to fanatic amateur *kyōka* poets. One can only imagine the status such a painting would give the owner: a fine painting by an artist known for his intricate *surimono* designs, inscribed by all the heroes that led their respective (large) circles and networks of poets throughout the country. Such paintings could have served as (first) prizes to be won at *kyōka* contests. It is possible that they were actually made at *kyōka* events, yet the animosity between some of the inscribers and the number of inscribers - some seven or eight sometimes - may suggest that such paintings were circulated among these poetry masters in a matter of days or weeks, each adding his or her poem separately. A simultaneous investigation of various paintings inscribed with *kyōka*, conducted against the complete background of *kyōka* networks as presented in this thesis, may yield additional confirmation of practices expounded in the previous chapters.

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Appendix I: Locations of *surimono* in literary series

This appendix lists where copies or images of *surimono* in literary series can be found. The list is not exhaustive, in the sense that in case more copies are known, not all are given. The following abbreviations are used:

BM: British Museum
CCMA: Chiba City Museum of Art
FLLW: Frank Lloyd Wright collection
MET: Metropolitan Museum of Art
MFA: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MIA: Minneapolis Institute of Arts
TNM: Tokyo National Museum

c. 1809: *Monogatari awase* 物語合, for the Gogawa, designed by several artists

Taketori monogatari (Shigemasa)	CCMA (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 99
Ise monogatari (Shigemasa)	Scheiwe collection, published in Hempel (1972), pl. 279
Tosa nikki (Gosei)	FLLW FDN 3009.005, published in Mirviss & Carpenter (1995), no. 89; Joanna Haab Schoff collection (no inv. no. given), published in Mirviss & Carpenter (2000), no. 21, and in McKee (2006), p. 74-75.
Utsubo (Gosei)	According to Asano (1997), p. 168, though no location given.
Kara monogatari (Shūri)	Spencer Museum of Art, William Bridges Thayer Memorial 0000.1616, published in Keyes (1984), no. 217

1811: *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草, for the Asakusagawa, by Shunman

Essay no. 9	known to exist, location unknown
Essay no. 10	known to exist, location unknown
Essay no. 19	MET JP 2096; CCMA (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 198
Essay no. 34	CCMA (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 199
Essay no. 54	FLLW FDN 3007.041, published in Mirviss & Carpenter (1995), no. 53
Essay no. 66	TNM inv. no. A-10569_5844
Essay no. 68	CCMA (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 200
Essay no. 72	Ostier (1978), no. 14
Essay no. 139	MET JP 2210; MFA 21.6200
Essay no. 158	known to exist, location unknown
Essay no. 191	known to exist, location unknown
Essay no. 235	National Gallery, Prague, no inv. no
Essay no. 237	known to exist, location unknown
Essay no. 238	CCMA (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 201

1812: *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, for the Asakusagawa, by Shunman

Chapter 4	Bibliothèque nationale de France, published in Narazaki (Ed., 1989), no. 176
Chapter 6	Bibliothèque nationale de France, published in Narazaki (Ed., 1989), no. 177; Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.1393
Chapter 9-1	Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg 1896.224, published in Lienert et al., no. 95.
Chapter 9-2	Bibliothèque nationale de France, published in Narazaki (Ed., 1989), no. 178
Chapter 11	Bibliothèque nationale de France, published in Narazaki (Ed., 1989), no. 179

Chapter 12	Chester Beatty library
Chapter 13	Bibliothèque nationale de France, published in Narazaki (Ed., 1989), no. 180
Chapter 14	Chester Beatty Library, published in Keyes (1985), pl. 316
Chapter 16	Bibliothèque nationale de France, published in *Hizō ukiyo-e taikan*, vol. 8, no. 187
Chapter 17	MFA 11.21069
Chapter 24	Bibliothèque nationale de France, published in Narazaki (Ed., 1989), no. 181
Chapter 27	Bibliothèque nationale de France, published in Narazaki (Ed., 1989), no. 182
Chapter 44	Bibliothèque nationale de France, published in Narazaki (Ed., 1989), no. 183
Chapter 69	CCMA (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 202
Chapter 73	Rijksmuseum RP-P-1956-563, published in Asano (1997), no. 203, and in Forrer (2013), no. 221.
Chapter 81	Pulverer collection (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 204; Bibliothèque nationale de France, published in Narazaki (Ed., 1989), no. 184
Chapter 87	Bibliothèque nationale de France, published in Narazaki (Ed., 1989), no. 185
Chapter 98	Bibliothèque nationale de France, published in Narazaki (Ed., 1989), no. 186

1813: *Torikaebaya monogatari* とりかへばや物語, for the Hakurakuya, by Shunman

Box for *sugoroku* game, bow and ball	MET JP 1984; Spencer Museum of Art, William Bridges Thayer Memorial 0000.1615, published in Keyes (1984) no. 59; CCMA (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 100
Court carriage	MET JP1986; CCMA (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 101
The doll-festival; shell game boxes	MET JP1980
Screen and utensils for incense ceremony	MET JP2003
Orange and dried persimmons	MET JP2007
Young court lady standing	MET JP1994
Snowy landscape	MET JP1993
Young nobleman and carpenter	MET JP1999
Young nobleman playing *koto*	MET JP1989
Candle-stand and fan	MET JP2004
Books and brush-stand	MET JP1996
Nobleman and attendant on veranda	MET JP2000
Outfit for the Go game	MET JP2006
Table and writing set	MET JP1985
Koto and *shō* (reed organ)	MET JP2005
Young nobleman looking inside a house	MET JP1992; Spencer Museum of Art, William Bridges Thayer Memorial 0000.1533; Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.1380
Divinity beating a drum	MET JP2010
Letter-box and plum blossoms	MET JP1995; Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.1381
Shrine under a big pine tree	MET JP2014
Court hat and court dress	MET JP2013
Biwa and its cover	MET JP1983

Mid 1810s: *Tosa nikki* 土佐日記, for Shōfūdai, Hisakataya and Bunbunsha, by Shunman

Cormorants and sea gulls	MET JP2066; MFA 21.6193; Collector and inv. no. not

	given, published in Mirviss & Carpenter (2000), no. 85.
Setting moon on waves	MET JP2067; Rijksmuseum RP-P-1958-330 (Meiji copy), published in Asano (1997), no. 208
Flounder and other fishes	MET JP2079
Various shells with sea weeds	MET JP2073
Boat setting sail for Tosa	MET JP2078
Three Sumiyoshi dancers	MET JP2069
Courtiers dancing	MET JP2087
Abalone diver and boys with basket	MET JP2076; Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.1382
Beehives with wasps, box for honey	MET JP2083
Letter-box and letter, potted flower	MET JP2072
Nakamaro at the coast in China	MET JP2086
Tai fish and top-shells	MET JP2080
Pine trees and flying cranes	MET JP2077
New Year's (*setsubun*) decorations	MET JP2063; MFA 21.6198

1817: *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草, for the Yomogawa, by Gakutei

Essay no. 16	Rietberg 21, published in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), no. 19
Essay no. 72	Published in Ostier et al. (1978), pl. 16
Essay no. **XX**	Published in **Ostier et al. (1988), pl. 108**
Essay no. 175	Published in Mirviss & Carpenter (2000), no. 58.

1818: *Goko shogun* 五虎将軍, for the Asakusagawa, by Gakutei

Sono ichi	unknown
Sono ni	unknown
Sono san Kan U	Rietberg 255, published in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), no. 16
Sono yon Kō Chū	Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.2010
Sono go Ba Chō	Collection Kleyn, published in Uhlenbeck (1987), no. 3; Rietberg 10, published in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), no. 17; Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.2006

1819: *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語, for the Taikogawa, by Shinsai

4-6 Yūgao, Wakamurasaki, Suetsumuhana	MIA P.78.63.17
7-9 Momiji no ga, Hana no en, Aoi	MET JP1976
16-18 Sekiya, Eawase, Matsukaze	MFA 11.21066; MIA P.75.51.98
22-24 Tamakazura, Hatsune, Kochō	MFA 11.20034; Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.876
25-27 Hotaru, Tokonatsu, Kagaribi	MFA 21.9264
28-30 Miyuki, Nowaki, Fujibakama	MET JP2068 and JP2265 (dated Year of the Hare in the design)

c. 1820: *Washo sankōshi* 和書三好子, for the Katsushikaren, by Gakutei

Sagoromo no taishō	Rietberg 260, published in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), no. 21; ; Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.1714
Hikaru Genji	MET JP1233; Rietberg 140, published in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), no. 22

c. 1820 *Makura no sōshi* 枕草子, for the Asakusagawa, by Hokuba

Ate naru mono	Collector and inv. no. not given, published in Mirviss & Carpenter (2000), no. 18.
Medetaki mono	Collector and inv. no. not given, published in Uhlenbeck (1987), no. 15; Joanna Haab Schoff collection (no inv. no. given), published in Mirviss & Carpenter (2000), no. 19, and in McKee (2006), no. 41; Rijksmuseum AK-MAK-1733, published in Forrer (2013), no. 265.
Chikakute tōki mono	Rietberg 147, published in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), no. 142
Kiyoshi to miyuru mono	Rietberg 30, published in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), no. 143

Kokoro tokimeki suru mono	Spencer Museum of Art 1496, published in Keyes (1984), no. 47.

c. 1820 *Mutsumigawa bantsuzuki Makura no sōshi* 睦側番つゝき枕草子, for the Mutsumigawa (Gogawa), by Hokkei

Nigenaki mono: toshihajime…	Fujisawa coll., published in Nagata & Katō (Eds., 1998), no. 27
Nigenaki mono: onna…	Fujisawa coll., published in Mizuta Bijutsukan, Jōsai Kokusai Daigaku (Ed., 2004), no. 27; Rietberg 275, published in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), no. 133 (Group B copy)
Kakimasaru mono	Fujisawa coll., published in Nagata & Katō (Eds., 1998), no. 28
Tōkute chikaki mono	Fujisawa coll., published in Nagata & Katō (Eds., 1998), no. 29; FLLW FDN 3017.066, published in Mirviss & Carpenter (1995), no. 99
Kotogoto naru mono	Fujisawa coll., published in Nagata & Katō (Eds., 1998), no. 30; MFA 11.20171
Kokoroyuku mono	Fujisawa coll., published in Nagata & Katō (Eds., 1998), no. 31
E ni kakite otoru mono	Fujisawa coll., published in Nagata & Katō (Eds., 1998), no. 32
Kakimasaru mono	MFA 11.19830
Medetaki mono	Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.1912
Tori ha…	Published in Preetorius (1959), p. 4

1821 *Honchōren monogatari jūban* 本町連物語十番, for the Honchōren, by Gakutei

Tosa nikki	Rietberg 29, published in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), no. 23
Hamamatsu chūnagon	Fitzwilliam Museum (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 103
Yamato monogatari	Fitzwilliam Museum (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 104
Genji monogatari	Chester Beatty Library no. 1048, published in Keyes (1987), no. 10
Taketori monogatari	Collection Uhlenbeck, published in Uhlenbeck (1987), no. 4
Ise monogatari	Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.1690
Kagerō nikki	Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.1715

c. 1821: *Mōgyū* 蒙求, for the Hanazonoren, by Hokkei

Kōmei	Rijksmuseum RP-P-1999-239, published in Rappard-Boon & Johnson (Eds., 2000), no. 39; Rietberg 179, published in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), no. 81; Rijksmuseum RP-P-1999-239, published in Forrer (2013), no. 284.
Shōjo	Rijksmuseum RP-P-1958-371, published in Rappard-Boon & Johnson (Eds., 2000), no. 104 and in Forrer (2013), no. 286.
Kōri	Rietberg 26, published in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), no. 82.
Sōjo	Rijksmuseum RP-P-1958-331, published in Forrer (2013), no. 285.
Mōhō	MFA 11.21071

1822: *Washo kurabe* 和書くらへ, for the Fundarikaren, by Hokkei

Zenzen taiheiki	Fujisawa coll., published in Nagata & Katō (Eds., 1998), no. 33
Taketori monogatari	Fujisawa coll., published in Nagata & Katō (Eds., 1998), no. 34
Ise monogatari	Fujisawa coll., published in Nagata & Katō (Eds., 1998), no. 35
Makura no sōshi	Fujisawa coll., published in Nagata & Katō (Eds., 1998), no. 36
Chomonjū	Rijksmuseum RP-P-1958-342, published Forrer (2013), no. 294.
Tsurezuregusa	Rijksmuseum RP-P-1958-341, published Forrer (2013), no. 295.

1820s *Sangokushi tōen ketsugi* 三國志桃宴結妓, for the Shippōren, by Hokkei

Kyō	Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.1347
Edo	Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.1349
Osaka	Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.1848

1824 *Uji shūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語, for the Katsushikaren, by Gakutei

Muneyuki ga rōtō tora wo iru	Spencer Museum of Art, William Bridges Thayer Memorial 0000.1540, published in Keyes (1984), no. 56; Rijksmuseum RP-P-1958-426, published in Rappard-Boon & Johnson (Eds., 2000), no. 96, Asano (1997), no. 106, and in Forrer (2013), no. 465.
Hakamadare Yasusuke	FLLW FDN 3010.006, published in Mirviss & Carpenter (1995), no. 84.
Kame o hanatsu tenjiku no ko	Collection Kleyn, published in Uhlenbeck (1987), no. 10; FLLW FDN 3010.007, published in Mirviss & Carpenter (1995), no. 85.
Midō kanpaku dono no inu	Collection Uhlenbeck, published in Uhlenbeck (1987), no. 11; MET JP1135; FLLW FDN 3010.008, published in Mirviss & Carpenter (1995), no. 86; MFA 51.40.
Hassai no ko to Kōshi no mondō	Rijksmuseum RP-P-1958-434, published Forrer (2013), no. 464; Fitzwilliam Museum (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 105

c. 1828 *Suikoden goko shōgun* 水滸伝五虎将軍, for the Gogawa, by Gakutei

Sono ichi Kan Shō	MFA 11.19856; Rijksmuseum RP-P-1958-418, published in Rappard-Boon & Johnson (Eds., 2000), no. 103 and in Forrer (2013), no. 442b; FLLW FDN 3010.001, published in Mirviss & Carpenter (1995), no. 10.
Sono ni Shin Mei	MFA 11.20477; FLLW FDN 3010.002, published in Mirviss & Carpenter (1995), no. 10.
Sono san Rin Chū	MFA 11.19858 and 2009.4994.9; Rijksmuseum RP-P-1958-419, published in Rappard-Boon & Johnson (Eds., 2000), no. 102 and in Forrer (2013), no. 442a; FLLW FDN 3010.003, published in Mirviss & Carpenter (1995), no. 10; Collector and inv. no. not given, published in Mirviss & Carpenter (2000), no. 76.
Sono yon Tō Hei	MFA 11.19857 and 2009.4994.10
Sono go Koen Shaku	MFA 11.19859

1829 *Fūzoku onna suikoden ippyakuhachinin no uchi* 風俗女水滸伝壹百八人内, for the Hisakataya shachū, by Kuniyoshi

Ō Teiroku	MET JP1252
Ro Shungi	MET JP1804; Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.2060
Sai Shin	Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.2070
Ensei	BM 2008, 3037.21602
Tai Sō	MIA P.75.51.84

1832 *Fūzoku onna suikoden hyakuhachiban no uchi* 風俗女水滸伝百八番ノ内, for the Hisakataya shachū, by Kuniyoshi

Woman viewing a dragon reflected…	Pulverer collection (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 256; Rietberg 38, published in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), no. 208; Rijksmuseum RP-P-1958-496, published Forrer (2013), no. 586.
Woman playing one-stringed koto	Rijksmuseum RP-P-1958-497, published Forrer (2013), no. 587 Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.2069
Woman and clock	Rijksmuseum RP-P-1958-494, published Forrer (2013), no. 588; Museum Volkenkunde RV-1655-14.
Woman and cat on table	Rijksmuseum RP-P-1958-495, published Forrer (2013), no. 589.
Woman walking in the snow	Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.2061
Woman on boat wringing towel	CCMA (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 257
Woman throwing dishes	Chester Beatty Library, published in Keyes (1985), no. 245.
Kneeling courtesan	Rietberg 47, published in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), no. 209

1832 *Fūzoku onna suikoden ippyakuhachinin no uchi shiokumi gobantsuzuki* 風俗女水滸伝壹百

八人ノ内 汐汲五番続, for the Taikogawa, (pentaptych) by Kuniyoshi

Sono ichi Gen Shōshichi	Bonhams, 12 Sept. 2012, lot 3030; Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.2068
Sono ni Ri Shun	MIA 81.133.153
Sono san Gen Shōji	BM 2008,3037.21801
Sono yon Chō Ō	MET JP1149; BM 2008,3037.21802; MIA P.75.51.87
Sono go Gen Shōgo	Harvard Art Museums 1933.4.2063; BM 2008,3037.21803; MIA P.75.51.88

c. 1830 *Suiko gogyō* 水滸五行, for the Hanazonoren, by Hokkei

Tsuchi Rin Chū	FLLW FDN 3017.015, published in Mirviss & Carpenter (1995), no. 129; Pulverer collection (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 250; MFA 11.20584.
Kin Ri Ki	FLLW FDN 3017.075, published in Mirviss & Carpenter (1995), no. 130; Pulverer collection (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 251; Collector and inv. no. not given, published in Mirviss & Carpenter (2000), no. 54; Rietberg 57, published in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), no. 121; MFA 11.20582.
Hi Sō Kōmei	Rijksmuseum RP-P-1958-313, published in Asano (1997), no. 249, and in Forrer (2013), no. 327; Rietberg 126, published in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), no. 122; MFA 11.20583.
Mizu Chōjun	Pulverer collection (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 252; Rietberg 8, published in Carpenter (Ed., 2008), no. 123; Rijksmuseum RP-P-1958-321, published Forrer (2013), no. 328; MFA 11.20585.
Ki Rochishin	Collector and inv. no. not given, published in Mirviss & Carpenter (2000), no. 55; Pulverer collection (no inv. no. given), published in Asano (1997), no. 247 and 248; MFA 11.20591.

c. 1830 *Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草, for the Manjiren, by Hokkei

Essay no. 9	MFA 11.25452
Essay no. 13	Rijksmuseum RP-P-1991-449, published Forrer (2013), no. 347.
Essay no. 23	MFA 11.25457
Essay no. 44	MFA 11.25453
Essay no. 68	Joanna Haab Schoff collection (no inv. no. given), published in Mirviss & Carpenter (2000), no. 51, and in McKee (2006), no. 28; MFA 11.25451 and 51.34
Essay no. 171	MFA 11.25460
Essay no. 174	MFA 11.20600

Appendix II: Overview of principal annotated editions and commentaries of *Tosa nikki* from the Edo period

Title	Author(s)	1st edition	Notes
Tosa nikki 土佐日記	Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之	1651	Earliest printed edition found in NIJL databases
Tosa nikki kenmonshō 土佐日記見聞抄	Matsunaga Teitoku 松永貞徳 & Katō Bansai 加藤磐斎	1655	Annotated text
Tosa nikki fuchū 土佐日記附註	Ono Dōsei 小野道生	1661	3 vols. Two copies surviving. Ono also wrote *Tosa nikki shō tōsho* 土佐日記抄頭書.
Tosa nikki shō 土佐日記抄	Kitamura Kigin 北村季吟	1661	In 2 volumes, important source for Kishimoto Yuzuru's *Tosa nikki kōshō;* Over 50 copies surviving today.
Shusho Tosa nikki 首書土佐日記	Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之	1707	Annotated text, author of notes unknown. Some fifteen copies surviving.
Tosa nikki (Jōruri) 土佐日記(浄瑠璃)	Kinoshita Jin'emon 木下甚右衛門 (publ.)	1708	*Jōruri* text.
Tosa nikki shūsuishō 土佐日記拾穂抄	Yamaoka Matsuake 山岡浚明	1760	No copies surviving acc. to NIJL database. Yamaoka studied under Kamo Mabuchi; also produced *waka*, *kyōka*, *gesaku*.
Tosa nikki chū 土佐日記註	Katō Umaki 加藤宇万伎 pupil of Kamo no Mabuchi, teacher of Ueda Akinari 上田秋成	1768	Only copied versions (three) surviving. Perhaps never printed. Katō Umaki also wrote a *Tosa nikki kai* (date unknown), of which one copied version survives, as well as *Tosa nikki shinshaku* (no date), of which none survives, apparently.
Tosa nikki uchigiki 土佐日記打聞 / *Tosa nikki Agatai no setsu* 土佐日記県居説	Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 /Katori Nabiko 楫取魚彦	1771	Annotated version by Kamo no Mabuchi (a.k.a. Atagai), to which Nabiko added further explanations. Manuscript version transcribed by Ide Tsuneo and Furuta Tōsaku (1955-6).
Tosa nikki haya no tsuma no izushi no kō 土佐日記ほやのつまのいつしの考	Imamura Tanoshi 今村楽	Between 1795 and 1799	'*Kōshō*' type text. Imamura, pupil of Motoori Norinaga, also wrote *Tosa nikki setsu*. Neither of these works seems to survive. Perhaps never printed.
Tosa nikki tomoshibi 土佐日記灯	Fujitani Mitsue 富士谷御杖	1816 [publ. 1817]	'*Shedding light on the Tosa nikki*'; Author lived and worked in Kyoto. Apparently appeared in manuscript only; 8 volumes in 24 fascicles.
Tosa nikki kōshō 土佐日記考証	Kishimoto Yuzuru 岸本由豆流 *kokugaku* scholar from Edo	1815 [publ. 1819]	First important explanatory work since Kitamura Kigin (1661) that appeared in print.
Kōchū Tosa nikki 校註土佐日記/ *Kōishusho Tosa nikki* 校異首書土佐日記	Katō Isotari 加藤磯足 *kokugaku* scholar from Nagoya domain	Before 1809 [one of the prefaces dated	'*Tosa nikki, annotated*' Published by important publishers from first Nagoya, then also Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo. Issued 9 years after Katō's death, probably on instigation of Ichioka Takehiko (who contributed a preface), a fellow pupil of Motoori Norinaga's (see below).

		1818, but publ. 1820]	Consists of one volume only, with limited annotations. In his own preface, Isotari mentions having used earlier works by Kigin and Dōsei as well as a 'clean copy' of the original work.
Tosa no nikki tsuikō 土佐日記追考	Ichioka Takehiko 市岡猛彦	1820	Additional thoughts to Katō Isotari's *Kōchū Tosa nikki*.
Tosa nikki sōken 土佐日記創見	Kagawa Kageki 香川景樹	1823	Kagawa also wrote a book called *Tsurayuki Shūchū*
Tosa nikki kai 土佐日記解	Tanaka Ōhide 田中大秀	1829	In 8 volumes. Tanaka too studied under Motoori Norinaga.
Tosa nikki fune no tadaji 土佐日記舟の直路	Tachibana Moribe 橘守部	1839	2 Vols. Concerns the 'exact' route that Tsurayuki's boat took. Tachibana Moribe also wrote *Tosa nikki kai* (date unknown).
Kyōka tosa nikkishō 狂歌土佐日記抄	Tsurunoya Osamaru 鶴廼屋乎佐丸 (probably; else his pupil Tsurunoya II Umeyoshi 梅好)	1841	First *kyōkabon* to use *Tosa nikki* as theme/title
Tosa nikki chiriben 土佐日記地理弁	Kamochi Masazumi 鹿持雅澄, Hayazaki Susumu 早崎益, Matsumoto Hirokage 松本弘蔭	1857	Kamochi also wrote a *kōshō* on *Man'yōshū*
Tosa nikki chiriben tsuikō 土佐日記地理弁追考	Matsumoto Hirokage 松本弘蔭	1860	Additional thoughts to *Tosa nikki chiriben* by Kamochi Masazumi

Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift onderzoekt de netwerken van *kyōka*-dichters van eind achttiende, begin negentiende eeuw, met Edo (huidig Tokyo) als centrum, op basis van de prenten en boeken die zij lieten drukken. Het genre *kyōka* is gebaseerd op een versvorm van 31 lettergrepen die prominent is binnen het klassieke Japanse poëtische genre *waka*, maar wordt gekenmerkt door de vrijheid om losjes met regels en woordkeus om te gaan, teneinde fraaie woordspelingen en intelligente kwinkslagen te maken. De prenten die *kyōka*-dichters lieten ontwerpen en drukken, om vervolgens uit te delen en uit te wisselen met Nieuwjaar, staan bekend als *surimono*, of preciezer *kyōka-surimono*. De boeken worden *kyōkabon*, letterlijk '*kyōka*-boeken', genoemd. De bestudering van deze twee typen onderzoeksmateriaal biedt op verschillende manieren inzicht in de sociale en culturele netwerken van dichters, zoals hun connecties met bijvoorbeeld prentkunstenaars, uitgevers, literatuurhistorici, en hun onderlinge connecties. Bovendien geven *surimono* en *kyōka*-boeken inzicht in de werking van de dichtersgroepen en het belang dat wel of niet gehecht werd aan stand die met op basis van erfelijkheid genoot binnen de maatschappij (inclusief financiële welstand), in verhouding tot sociale en culturele status die men genoot binnen de *kyōka*-wereld.

De vragen die centraal staan in dit proefschrift zijn: Wat voor sociale netwerken vindt men achter *surimono* en hoe functioneren die netwerken? Is er een relatie tussen de sociale positie van dichters binnen de maatschappij en de keuze voor het genre *kyōka*? Hoe past *kyōka* als genre binnen de algehele tendens tot het bestuderen van klassieke Japanse literatuur in de vroegmoderne periode? Wat is de herkomst van de culturele en literaire kennis die in zowel de gedichten als de illustraties te vinden is? En tot slot: Is de keus voor bepaalde literaire of historische onderwerpen terug te voeren op individuele interesses, of reflecteert deze keus grotere stromingen in de maatschappij van dat moment?

De methodiek voor het beantwoorden van deze vragen is tweeledig. Eerst wordt in kaart gebracht hoe de sociale netwerken van dichters opgebouwd zijn en hoe ze functioneren, op basis van *kyōka*-boeken en gerelateerde materialen zoals gedrukte aankondigingen voor dichtwedstrijden en wedstrijduitslagen. Vervolgens wordt op basis van de bestudering van series *surimono* geïnspireerd op verschillende Japanse klassieke literaire werken, bekeken op welke manier binnen de wereld van *kyōka* omgegaan werd met de receptie van klassieke literatuur.

Hoofdstuk 1 bakent het vakgebied af. Hierin wordt tegen het licht gehouden wat er aan literatuur is verschenen met betrekking tot *surimono* en *kyōka*-boeken en op welke manieren daar onderzoek naar gedaan is. Voor wat betreft *surimono* kan algemeen geconcludeerd worden dat het merendeel van de literatuur is verschenen in tentoonstellings- of bestandscatalogi, en niet in monografieën. Bovendien concentreert veel van dit onderzoek zich op de visuele en tekstuele inhoud van de *surimono*, en niet op de achterliggende sociale netwerken. Voor wat betreft *kyōka*-boeken valt op dat het meeste onderzoek in Japan zelf plaatsvindt, wat te wijten is aan de complexiteit van de teksten in deze boeken. Een groot deel van dit onderzoek richt zich op *kyōka* als genre binnen de literatuurgeschiedenis, al worden de duidelijk aanwezige netwerken van dichters regelmatig betrokken in de bestudering.

De hoofdstukken 2 en 3 definiëren en categoriseren *kyōka-surimono*, respectievelijk *kyōka*-boeken. Deze hoofdstukken bespreken de ontwikkeling van het genre *kyōka* en de materialen die dit genre voortbracht. Teneinde later in het proefschrift uitspraken te kunnen doen over de inhoud van de gedrukte werken, wordt in deze hoofdstukken uiteengezet wat de materiële kwaliteiten ervan zijn. Dit leidt tot een voorgestelde nieuwe categorisering. Met betrekking tot *kyōka*-boeken is de voorgestelde indeling in drie typen van belang. Die zijn: *kyōka*-bloemlezingen, resultaatboeken van *kyōka*-competities, en *kyōka*-informatieboeken. Het eerste type betreft zoals de term al verduidelijkt boeken waarin een selectie van de beste gedichten gepresenteerd wordt. Dat kan een selectie zijn van gedichten uit een bepaalde groep, of van een enkele dichter. Deze bloemlezingen zijn doorgaans op een redelijk algemeen lezerspubliek gericht. De resultaatboeken van *kyōka*-competities hebben als typerend kenmerk het vermelden van het aantal punten dat tijdens een wedstrijd gescoord werd. In de regel worden ook de juryleden vermeld. Dit zijn doorgaans de grote namen binnen de *kyōka*-wereld. *Kyōka*-informatieboeken, tot slot, bieden aspirerende amateurdichters een mogelijkheid om hun vaardigheden te verbeteren, ook als ze niet in de leer zijn bij een *kyōka*-meester. Bovendien geven dit soort boeken inzicht in de smaak en stijl van de diverse *kyōka*-meesters, wat de keus voor de ene of de andere groep vergemakkelijkt. Er zit weliswaar enige overlap in de functies van verschillende *kyōka*-boeken, maar deze driedeling naar functie is desalniettemin afdoende steekhoudend om leidend te zijn in hoofdstuk 4.

Surimono, en zeker *surimono* die uitgebracht werden in series, worden in hoofdstuk 3 van dit proefschrift anders gecategoriseerd dan gebruikelijk is in bijvoorbeeld catalogi. Dat heeft te maken met het feit dat voor dit onderzoek gekeken wordt naar de functie die *surimono* hadden voor de dichters die ze lieten uitbrengen. Voor hen was er bijvoorbeeld een groot verschil tussen *surimono* die uitgebracht werden door een individuele dichter, tegenover *surimono* in series die onder auspiciën van een grotere groep dichters uitgebracht werden.

Hoofdstuk 4 gaat in op de netwerken van dichters. Belangrijk daarbij is dat dit hoofdstuk beschrijft hoe de populariteit van *kyōka* gebaseerd is op wedstrijden met een zekere allure. De inschrijfgelden waren hoger dan van bijvoorbeeld wedstrijden gehouden binnen het genre *haikai* (met metrum van 17 lettergrepen, onder een breder deel van de bevolking populair). Maar de prijzen waren ook navenant, en men maakte kans zijn of haar winnende gedicht terug te vinden in een fraai uitgegeven *kyōka*-resultaatboek. Dit alles was gebaseerd op een zorgvuldige ordening van dichters naar scores, weergegeven in tabellen die werden gedrukt en verspreid onder de deelnemers. Een hoge score en de bijbehorende erkenning bezorgt dichters een zekere status binnen de *kyōka*-wereld. Zo kan men de sociale status van een *kyōka*-dichter zien als bestaande uit verschillende componenten: stand bij geboorte, economische welgesteldheid, maar ook culturele bagage die af te lezen was uit goede scores bij wedstrijden, het verschijnen in boeken en op *surimono*, en connecties naar (veel) (hooggeplaatste) dichters. De bovengenoemde factoren die *kyōka* als bezigheid populair maken, hebben tussen grofweg 1770 en 1835 een enorme aantrekkingskracht. De populariteit van *kyōka* is echter van beperkte duur en uiteindelijk

relatief klein in vergelijking met die van *haikai*.

Hoofdstuk 5 onderzoekt de literaire kant van *surimono*. Specifiek *surimono* die klassieke literatuur als onderwerp nemen en die in series uitgebracht werden, worden geanalyseerd in dit hoofdstuk. Op basis van deze analyses kunnen antwoorden gevonden worden op vragen over de rol van dit soort series *kyōka-surimono* binnen de receptiegeschiedenis van klassieke literatuur gedurende de Edo-periode en over de herkomst van literaire kennis die blijkt uit tekst en beeld in *surimono*. Behalve een beschrijving van 22 series uitgebracht tussen c.1809 en c.1830 die ofwel Japanse, ofwel Chinese klassieke literaire werken als onderwerp nemen, wordt een uitgebreidere analyse per prent uitgevoerd van vier van de *surimono*-series, die geïnspireerd zijn op twee verschillende werken uit de klassieke Japanse literatuur. Deze series zijn gebaseerd op de werken *Tosa nikki* (één serie) en *Tsurezuregusa* (drie series, uitgebracht in verschillende jaren en geïllustreerd door verschillende prentontwerpers). *Tosa nikki* ('*Het Tosa dagboek*') is een fictief reisverslag geschreven rond het jaar 935, door de voormalig gouverneur van Tosa (op Shikoku), Ki no Tsurayuki (868?-945). *Tsurezuregusa* (de in het Engels gebruikelijke titel '*Essays in Idleness*' zou men kunnen vertalen als '*Schrijfsels van gelanterfant*') is een verzameling korte teksten over uiteenlopende onderwerpen, geschreven rond 1330-1332, waarvan het auteurschap toegeschreven is aan de monnik Yoshida Kenkō (c.1283-c.1350).

Belangrijk is dat beide werken in het Japans geschreven werden, niet in het Chinees. Vooral *Tosa nikki* was nog niet zo algemeen bekend in de tijd dat de *surimono*-serie ervan uitkwam. Uit een analyse van literatuurhistorisch onderzoek naar zowel *Tosa nikki* als *Tsurezuregusa* gedurende de Edo-periode, met name onderzoek in de *kokugaku*-traditie die zich specifiek richt op klassieke literatuur van Japanse bodem, blijkt dat beide werken juist in de belangstelling stonden in dezelfde tijd dat de *surimono*-series gecreëerd werden. Bovendien kon bevestigd worden dat diverse betrokken *kyōka*-dichters connecties hadden met onderzoekers binnen *kokugaku*. Echter, een vergelijking tussen de inhoud van de *surimono* en de inhoud van literatuurhistorisch onderzoek uit de Edo-periode levert op dat *kyōka*-dichters, en vermoedelijk ook de prentontwerpers, uiteindelijk teruggaan op de literaire commentaren geschreven door onderzoekers van enkele generaties eerder, ook al was men verbonden met - op dat moment - huidige generatie onderzoekers. Uit de beschrijving en nadere analyse van de verschillende *surimono*-series, zowel gebaseerd op Chinese als op Japanse werken, blijkt een algemene culturele nostalgie voor vervlogen tijden. Die cultureel-nostalgische inslag brengen *kyōka*-dichters ook in praktijk tijdens hun dichtwedstrijden, waar elementen uit traditionele dichtwedstrijden uit vervlogen tijden geïncorporeerd worden.

Dit onderzoek resulteert in de conclusie dat *surimono* te lang zijn bestudeerd vanuit de gedachte dat een prentontwerper grotendeels de inhoud bepaalde, terwijl in werkelijkheid het initiatief bij de dichters ligt. Bovendien zijn *surimono* teveel in isolatie bestudeerd. Dat wil zeggen, de uitgebreide culturele productie van *kyōka*-netwerken, met name in de vorm van boeken, wordt ten onrechte buiten beschouwing gelaten, terwijl voor *kyōka*-dichters *surimono* slechts één onderdeel waren in een jaar vol dichterlijke activiteiten. Uit *kyōka*-boeken is veel meer af te leiden mbt grootte van groepen, geografische

verspreiding, netwerken, connecties tot ontwerpers en uitgevers, en sociale achtergrond van de leden. We kunnen er ook uit afleiden hoeveel van de actieve dichters eveneens op de *surimono* van hetzelfde genootschap terechtkwamen. *Kyōka*-informatieboeken bieden inzicht in hoe *kyōka* als genre groeide en hoe de netwerken en de wedstrijdpraktijk vastere vorm kregen. Bovendien blijkt uit de informatieboeken dat hoewel dichters speciale *kyōka*-dichternamen gebruikten, dit niet tot doel had anoniem te blijven. Sociale en culturele status was belangrijk voor de dichters en anonimiteit zou de mogelijkheid op erkenning doen afnemen. De hiërarchische indeling van dichters op basis van scores lijkt zuiver meritocratisch, al blijkt uit de deelnamekosten op wedstrijdaankondigingen dat een aanzienlijke financiële investering nodig was om hoog te kunnen scoren en als cultureel gesofisticeerde persoon te boek te komen te staan. Luxe *kyōka*-boeken waren net als *surimono* een ideaal vehikel voor het tentoon spreiden van culturele bagage, zeker wanneer er verwijzingen naar klassieke literatuur opgenomen werden.

Dit proefschrift toont dan ook aan dat *surimono* in relatie tot klassieke literatuur bestudeerd dienen te worden, waaruit vervolgens ook veel beter blijkt welke *surimono* werkelijk literaire diepgang hadden. Literaire *surimono* nemen een unieke plaats in binnen de receptie van klassieke literatuur, niet in de laatste plaats omdat de behandelde werken precies rond de jaren van verschijning actief bestudeerd werden door literatuurhistorici met wie de dichters connecties onderhielden. Het lezen van commentaren op, en geannoteerde versies van klassieke teksten gaf *kyōka*-dichters dus ook een verhoogde status binnen de netwerken. Ten aanzien van de literaire verwijzingen dient nog aangetekend te worden dat niet alle *surimono* verwijzen naar klassieke literatuur. Die indruk zou gewekt kunnen worden door de focus op juist die series binnen dit proefschrift. Bovendien is de conclusie uit dit onderzoek dat de verwijzingen naar klassieke literatuur over het algemeen nostalgisch van aard zijn, en - gezien de inclusiviteit ten aanzien van Chinese onderwerpen - niet uitsluitend cultuurnationalistisch gemotiveerd.

Eén van de conclusies met betrekking tot de herkomst van de literaire kennis is dat - in tegenstelling tot de verwachting - het eerder 'gewone burgers' waren dan dichters van samoerai-geboorte, die de kennis inbrachten in de *kyōka*-wereld. Dat is ook opvallend omdat het aandeel samoerai in de *kyōka*-wereld wel degelijk aanzienlijk bleek. De relatie tussen afkomst bij geboorte en sociale status binnen de *kyōka*-wereld is complex maar toont aan dat standenverschillen in zekere zin overbrugd werden. Status binnen de *kyōka* wereld is echter opgebouwd uit meer elementen dan stand binnen de maatschappij, zoals vooral culturele bagage en economische draagkracht. Interesse voor actieve deelname in het genre *kyōka* is daarom wel te relateren aan een bepaalde, min of meer eenduidige sociale groep, maar niet direct aan afkomst op basis van geboorte.

Dit proefschrift heeft *surimono* bestudeerd in een breder kader van culturele productie van dichternetwerken, waarbij vooral *kyōka*-boeken uitgebreid onderzocht zijn. Toekomstig onderzoek binnen dit onderwerp zou aangevuld kunnen worden met de bestudering van het proces van bestellen van *surimono* en de interactie tussen dichters en prentontwerpers, om nog beter inzicht te krijgen in de intenties van de verschillende partijen. Bovendien kunnen schilderingen met *kyōka* erop, waar nog zeer weinig gericht onderzoek naar gedaan is, inzicht bieden in de functies hiervan - mogelijk als wedstrijdprijzen, als speciale bestellingen bij ontwerpers, of als bevestiging van positie - binnen de *kyōka*-netwerken.

Curriculum Vitae

Daan Kok (Amsterdam, 1978) went to school at Barlaeus Gymnasium, Amsterdam (1990-1996). He then studied Japanese language and culture at Hogeschool Maastricht (1996-1998) and at Leiden University (1998-2003). As part of his studies at Leiden, he spent the second academic year in Nagasaki province, Japan, and later enrolled in the Japan Business Program within the Leiden curriculum. He graduated cum laude in 2003, having written his MA thesis (then *doctoraalscriptie*) on the topic of *surimono*. While working part time at the Japanese embassy in The Hague and later for the website translation company he co-founded, he applied for a position as PhD researcher at the CNWS, now LIAS, part of the Faculty of Humanities, at Leiden University. After four years of research (2004-2008), he started his museum career as curator for the collections China, Japan, and Korea at the Royal Museums of Art and History, in Brussels, Belgium. Returning to Leiden in 2010, he continued to work for several museums, art dealerships, and individual collectors in the Netherlands and elsewhere in Europe on a freelance basis, and taught a number of courses for the Japan studies department at Leiden University, while continuing his research. In 2012, he was temporarily employed by Museum Volkenkunde, as documentalist for the Japan collection.

Since 2015, Daan Kok is curator for the Japan and Korea collections of the National Museum of World Cultures, The Netherlands - an institute comprised of Tropenmuseum Amsterdam, Afrika Museum in Berg en Dal, Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden, and Wereldmuseum in Rotterdam. In this capacity, he recently acted as curator for the exhibition *Cool Japan: Worldwide Fascination in Focus*, on display from mid-April to the end of October 2017.